

Material Mnemonics

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Everyday Memory in
Prehistoric Europe [Retail]

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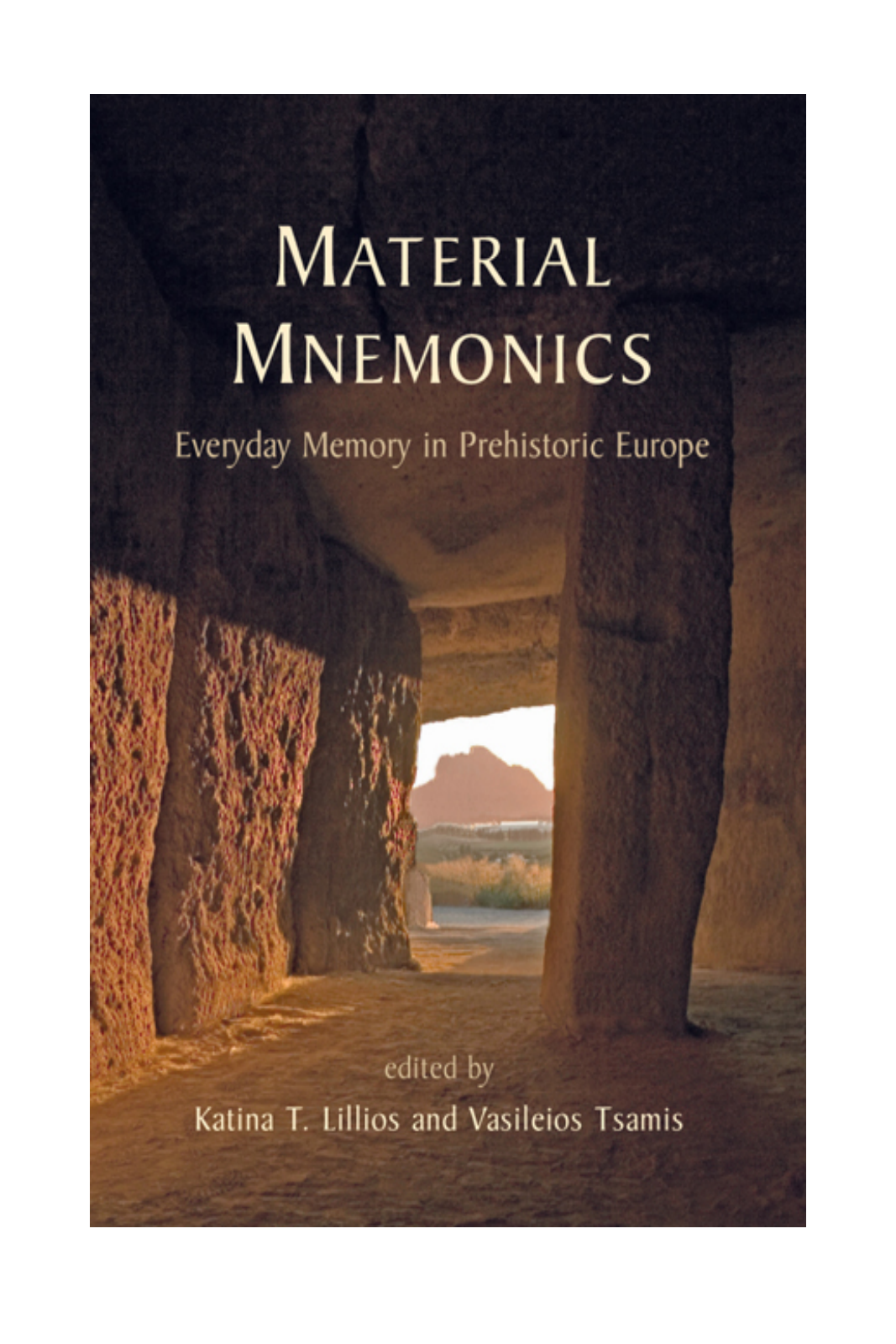
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MATERIAL MNEMONICS

Everyday Memory in Prehistoric Europe

edited by

Katina T. Lillios and Vasileios Tsamis

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Front cover: View of La Peña de los Enamorados from the rear of the Menga dolmen (Antequera, Malaga, Spain) on the summer solstice of 2007 at 0712 hours. Photograph by Javier Pérez González. Courtesy of the Ministry of Culture, Andalusian Government

Back cover: Reconstruction of storage room 9 from Assiros building phase 9 (circa 1360BC). Image created by Richard Potter

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Introduction

Katina T. Lillios and Vasileios Tsamis

Beginning in the 1990s, archaeologists and other scholars of material culture increasingly turned their attention to memory and devoted themselves to identifying and analyzing memory practices, memory sites, and material mnemonics (Alcock 2002; Bradley 2002; Buchli and Lucas 2001; Forty and Küchler 1999; Hallam and Hockey 2001; Jones 2007; Mills and Walker 2008; Radstone 2000; Saunders 2003; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003; Williams 2003). This *mnemophilia* is likely related to and dependent on emerging intellectual currents in the study of agency, biography, time, nationalism, and identity politics. Whether memory studies remain a theoretical horizon – broadly experienced but short-lived – or mature to become part of a more enduring phase in the evolution of archaeological theory and practice is, however, unknown.

Writing about memory is to open a Pandora's Box of further possibilities. To avoid a lengthy and generalised discussion of the subject, we wish to briefly consider those writers and their works that have influenced today's archaeologies of memory, specifically in the ways they articulate everyday memory, the collective, place, and the senses. These writers include Halbwachs (1992[1925]), Bachelard (1964), Casey (1987), Nora (1989), and Connerton (1989).

The works of Maurice Halbwachs focus on two main lines of research. The first is social classes, in particular, the working class (*e.g.* in terms of consumption, housing, and life styles), and the second is the role of memory in a program of collective psychology. Halbwachs criticizes scholars who consider memory as solely developed from individual psychology. His analysis stresses the importance of society in the creation of memory. In his work *On Collective Memory* (1992[1925]) he demonstrates that the past is not kept in individual memory, and it cannot be relived as such. In contrast, collective representations constitute memory based on the necessities of the present. He applied this reasoning to the history of Christian civilization in *La topographie légendaire des évangiles* (Halbwachs 1941), showing how religious beliefs are based on a history whose essential events are materialized in very particular places (*e.g.* the Sea of Galilee, Mount Zion, *etc.*). Finally, he explains how the re-settlement of these religious sites functions to address issues of the present, transforms memory and, at the same time, guarantees its continued existence.

A fundamental work in the meanings of domestic space and memory, and of relevance to archaeologists, is Gaston Bachelard's *The Poetics of Space* (1964). Bachelard analyses domestic space as triggering memories with its smells, spatial orientation, and interaction with people. He believes the house is constantly interacting with its inhabitants, a space which contains compressed time, since it is seen as 'accumulating' different experiences from different people. According to Bachelard, we should go beyond the problem of description and instead focus on how we inhabit space (1964: 4). The way we inhabit space is based on memories and the fact that the more securely these memories are tethered to space, the sounder they are. Focusing on the house people are born in, Bachelard puts forward the idea that such a house is not only an embodied experience or memory, but also an embodiment of dreams. Each part of the house can remind us of childhood dreams (both

metaphorically and literally) and plans for the future. Therefore, space is not only remembered, experienced, and lived, but it is also dreamed and imagined.

A thorough description of the varieties of emplaced human memory is stated in Edward Casey's *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* (1987). In his book Casey uses *habitus* in order to provide a framework for linking emplacement with embodiment and a phenomenological framework to argue for the primacy of place over space. "*We come to the world – we come into it and keep returning to it – as already placed there*" (Casey 1996: 18). Both sensory experiences and spaces are emplaced from the very first moment and at every subsequent moment as well. Embodiment and emplacement become the fundamental essentials for Casey's geographical self. The self does not exist independently of body and place (1987: 147).

Furthermore, Casey demonstrates the major role of the human body in remembering and forgetting the past. Bodily movement takes people into places and helps to remember them vividly. Hence, memory is not just something of the past, but something practiced in the present. Casey emphasizes that place is crucial in understanding memory. He explains that place has been overlooked because memory was linked with time and that place was diminished to description. Having been in places is a fundamental resource for remembering our being in the world. Thus, places serve as reference points and triggering mechanisms for the formation of memories in the present (1987: 215). The slow re-emergence of place as a viable and productive notion only occurred with the recognition of the importance of the body in spatial orientation and in ordinary perception. This recognition is adopted by Casey in his later work *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* (Casey 1997).

In Pierre Nora's three-volume work *Les lieux des mémoires* (Nora 1997), we encounter the importance of places in the creation of France's identity. In the above work, authors like Le Goff (*Reims, ville du sacre*) and Nora (*Entre mémoire et histoire, Les mémoires d'Etat*) understand memory as constantly changing, manipulated by people and used in everyday life. Body, space and memory can be seen as closely knit in Nora's suggestion for the existence of *lieux de mémoire*, where specific places (e.g. war memorials) trigger memories and encourage locality. Memory is seen as an everyday phenomenon in past societies, in contrast with the modern societies where it is focused on specific places (Nora 1989: 7). Memory and History are seen as contradictory terms. The very need of western society to rely on history proves, according to Nora, that modern society does not rely on everyday memory (embodied and uncontrolled) to remember the past. Memory is attached to human experiences having material, experiential, functional and symbolic attributes (ibid: 19).

The division between pre-modern and modern society in terms of memory's role is certainly over-simplistic. Everyday memory is important in every society. Places, feelings, emotions and songs evoke memories about the past and are triggered by sensory experiences. Nora focuses on the relation between space and memory, and the correlations between memory and bodily or commemorative practices in modern society. In addition, his simplistic dichotomy of premodern/modern society oversimplifies the available evidence without taking into account regions where *lieux de mémoires* existed in the past (e.g. Egypt, Greece, and South America).

Paul Connerton advocates the importance of social remembering through rituals and the application of the human senses (Connerton 1989: 48). Memory is embedded in bodily practices having personal and social significance. While Nora advocates the importance of spatial remembrance, Connerton introduces the importance of habitual memory (1989: 72) and the crucial role of establishing social relations through communal ceremonies. Social

memory, for Connerton, is found in commemorative ceremonies, which are performative in nature and thus sedimented in the body (1989: 71). This social bodily practice can be distinguished into two different types of experiencing. The first is incorporated practice, which entails bodily gestures and expressions between bodies, and the second is inscribed practice and has to do with modern devices for storing and retrieving information. Space, memory and bodily experience should be analysed together since they are variable in meaning and in constant interaction acquiring and suggesting different modes of experience and remembering.

Archaeology was keen to follow the developments of the above writers, in particular, Connerton (Bradley 1998, 2002) and to incorporate them in the study of the past. This trend is exemplified in two recent publications on archaeology and memory that treat memory as a social construct, variable by gender, ethnicity, class and religion. The first is *Archaeologies of Memory* (Van Dyke and Alcock, eds. 2003), which demonstrates memory's mutability and the fact that it emerges from actions of remembering and forgetting. The second important work is *Archaeologies of Remembrance: Death and Memory in Past Societies* (Williams 2003). As the title indicates, this volume emphasises mortuary practices and the role of death and memory in the past. However, memory is also found in everyday practices and experiences, and is part of the mundane and the repetitive. This is where our edited book comes to life.

Scope and aims of book

Many archaeological works on memory treat memory (and forgetting) as an isolated theoretical concern or as an adjunct to the study of death and mortuary practices. This volume focuses on the construction of social memory and the shaping of identity. It also explores the link between materiality and the human senses, which is critical to understanding how memory works.

The papers illustrate, using different contexts and scales of analysis (artefacts, monuments, landscapes, practices), that memory is, in fact, central to understanding human cultural and social behaviour. As Hamilakis asserts, "all archaeology is about memory" (Hamilakis, Chapter 10). Indeed, one could suggest that, paraphrasing Willey and Phillips (1958), "archaeology is about memory or it is nothing." To ignore the historical entanglement of human behaviours – the well of memories from which ancient peoples drew in their choices, gestures, and actions – is ultimately to deny the humanity of the past.

This volume includes a geographically diverse set of European case studies – from the Iberian Peninsula, the British Isles, Italy, Greece and the Balkans, central Europe, and Scandinavia.¹ In this way, regional patterns and variability in the ways ancient Europeans appropriated the artefacts, monuments, and landscapes of their past to create their futures are illuminated. If one views memory as central to the cultural behaviour of human communities, one might reasonably suggest that an ethnography of mnemonic practices would be an important and fertile direction for archaeologists to endeavour in the future.

This volume is organized chronologically as a way to consider how mnemonic practices transformed over time, particularly as human groups increased demographically and in the complexity of their social and political structures. While social evolutionary studies and memory studies are generally in tandem, the papers in this volume suggest that memory and material mnemonics, as key political and symbolic resources, may be deployed as well as resisted in patterned ways.

Neolithic memories

García Sanjuán and Wheatley analyze how materiality affords and constrains mnemonic practices in their study of landscapes, funerary monuments, and artefacts from Late Neolithic and Copper Age populations in southern Spain (Chapter 2). The web-like, recursive relationship between artefacts made from special stones, such as quartz, tomb orientations, and the natural landscape is skilfully explicated by the authors, who suggest how this relationship was manipulated by ancient groups to evoke and shape temporality. For example, they convincingly argue that the highly unusual orientation of the dolmen of Menga can only be understood when we consider its alignment to La Peña de los Enamorados, with its distinctive anthropomorphism, and the ancient monuments that lie at the base of La Peña. Their work illustrates the rich insights gained when geoarchaeology, a landscape approach, and a concern with historicity and memory are harnessed.

On a different scale, Lillios (Chapter 3) examines the mnemonic practices materialized through the biographies of the engraved slate plaque relics of the Iberian Neolithic and Copper Age. These small objects, shaped out of fragments of hand-sized engraved slate plaques and perforated, presumably for personal wear, suggest a more intimate and fluid quality of memory than the monuments and rocky landscapes described by García Sanjuán and Wheatley. Whether these small-scale mnemonics were invoked to challenge the messages implicated in the original slate plaques or monumental-scale mnemonics, such as megalithic burials, or whether they reproduced these messages, is, however, unclear.

In Chapter 4, Skeates continues with this examination of small-scale mnemonics in a discussion of the role of body ornaments in Copper Age Italy. The proliferation of ornaments during this period in Italy, with their different sensory properties and evocations, is striking. These ornaments included “beads of bone, shell, baked clay, wood, and stone, including imported steatite, basalt and amber; pendants of stone, boars’ tusk and leather; perforated seashells and teeth of deer, dog, fox and shark; copper rings; carved bone pins with decorated heads; and grooved bone toggles.” Skeates argues that the ornaments marked and shaped personal identities, values, relationships, and practices, but he also wants us to be attentive to the distinctive materialities of portable objects within specific cultural historical contexts – in this case, the Copper Age of Italy. He suggests that well-travelled ornaments, those used and reused for long periods of time, may have served to establish and legitimate the reinvented social histories of new kin groups that were emerging at this time in Italy.

In Chapter 5, Jones invites us to consider the mnemonic role of violent behaviours associated with the destruction of Neolithic monuments – including houses and causewayed enclosures – in the British Isles. He challenges the traditional opposition often made by archaeologists: violence/destruction vs mnemonic practices that is often implicated to explain different archaeological phenomena in the British Isles. Like Skeates, he grounds his mnemonic practices in culturally specific ways, suggesting that the periodic destruction of sites was a distinctively Neolithic way of expressing time, transformation, and memory.

Bronze Age memories

In Chapter 6, Tsamis continues this exploration of the non-mortuary world in examining the mnemonic practices materialized and experienced multisensorially in the built spaces of Bronze Age settlements in Central Macedonia, Greece. He shows how everyday, mundane practices like wall reconstruction, food consumption, and storage negotiated and produced memory. The sensory potential of those practices is analysed in order to show that maintaining access routes, spatial orientation, and spatial allocation of practices shaped locality, identity and memory. Food and drink, smells, and textures are seen as mnemonic

corporeal practices that created a link with the past. Through the study of successive building phases he suggests that inhabitants of these settlements remembered their ancestors through the maintenance of their everyday experiences. This was not a static process, however, as each generation would have altered who and what was remembered. Tsamis reminds archaeologists that continuities must also be explicated and interpreted, as well as rupture and change.

In another provocative chapter, Levy (Chapter 7) challenges us to consider the mnemonic consequences of objects and sites hidden from view – namely the Bronze Age hoards deposited in the bogs of Denmark. She articulates her discussion to gender, a key axis to which material mnemonics, if viewed as symbolic capital, must ultimately be tethered. She contrasts the mnemonic properties of bog deposits to monumental mounds, also present at the time, and suggests that rituals connected to bogs were more cryptic, more open to multiple readings.

Iron Age memories

Arnold discusses the potency of landscapes that materialized, in monumental form, the elite dead and their lineages in the Iron Age of central Europe in Chapter 8. The use of the monumental built landscape as a material mnemonic of social relationships and histories is persuasively argued, using the result of DNA analyses and dental morphology work. Arnold also shows how later La Tène groups selected particular Hallstatt mounds, which had been the focus of supra-mortuary ritual activity, to situate their Viereckschanze. Like Levy, she reminds us of absences – in this case, small mounds, which have generally been ignored by archaeologists and which, ultimately, contribute to a generalized amnesia about a large sector of the Iron Age population.

In the final chapter (9), Larsson takes us to a singular Iron Age house in Uppåkra, Sweden. The house was used – rebuilt repeatedly but without major changes to its plan – over a period of 650 years, when it was finally dismantled during the early Viking Age. Larsson invites us to consider how its atavistic appearance must have shaped human experiences and materialized a stable social order. The enduring use of the Uppåkra house is particularly striking given that houses close to it were deliberately burned during the site's use. This concern to preserve this one great house, for so long, evokes contemporary preservationist movements throughout the world today.

Conclusions

The range of mnemonic practices discussed in these chapters – the intimate reworking and curation of small objects, the burial of bodies and objects – some in visible and monumental contexts – others in more hidden spaces, the enduring use of settlements, and the inscription of the landscape with the mounds of the dead – should inspire us, as archaeologists, to consider the diverse ways that everyday memories were created and shaped by ancient peoples and for what political and social purposes. They remind us of the insistent – perhaps universal – tensions in human social life: between the needs of the individual and those of the collective, the power of what is visible and the power of what is hidden, and the appropriation of the dead to make meaning for the living. They also illustrate that to remember – to create order out of social experience – means to forget, to hide, to ignore, and to destroy.

Note

The papers in this volume were drawn from the session *Material Mnemonics in European Prehistory* organized by Lillios at the 2006 UISPP meetings in Lisbon. Some of the original participants in the session could not contribute to this volume because of prior commitments. Hamilakis was invited to provide the closing discussion in this volume, although he did not participate in the session.

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Natural substances, landscape forms, symbols and funerary monuments: Elements of cultural memory among the Neolithic and Copper Age societies of southern Spain

Leonardo García Sanjuán and David W. Wheatley

This paper explores how Neolithic and Copper Age societies of southern Spain established highly patterned relationships between natural elements (matter, form) and human-made devices (artefacts, architectures) in order to maintain their cultural memory. These patterns of relationships involve 1) the selection of special types of rocks (natural substances) and their utilisation with both votive and architectural purposes, 2) the frequenting and sacralisation of anomalous natural spaces (conspicuous vs. hidden), 3) the material transformation and re-utilisation of certain funerary monuments, and 4) the visual connection of sites prominent in the collective memory. Over time, the interaction between “natural” and “artificial” elements lays on the landscape a complex web of references that are integrated in narratives of both mythical (cosmogony, foundational legends) and genealogical (ancestors, lineages) memories. In turn, this web of references becomes integrated in the dynamics of tradition and change embedded in the religious and political ideologies of the societies that developed in southern Spain during this long time span. This discussion will focus on two case studies on which the authors have ongoing research, namely Almadén de la Plata (Sevilla) and Antequera (Málaga).

Introduction

The scope and significance of cultural memory (and by implication, mnemonic devices) among late prehistoric Iberian societies have only recently begun to be understood. The utilisation of material culture to invoke the past in the present became inherent within a set of religious ideologies that, from the Neolithic onwards, placed great emphasis on ancestors – especially through funerary ideology.¹ One topic that has formed a focus for research has been the continued utilisation of ancestral funerary sites between the Neolithic and the Iron Age, particularly in the case of megalithic monuments (see, for example, Beguiristáin Gúrpile and Vélaz Ciaurriz 1999; Bueno Ramírez *et al.* 2004; García Sanjuán 2005a, 2005b, 2007; Llorio Alvarado and Montero Ruiz 2004; Mañana Borrazás 2003) and even after Romanisation (García Sanjuán *et al.* 2007, 2008). Other recent discussions have included the utilisation of certain artefacts as physical records of ancestral lineages (Lillios 2003, 2004, 2008) and as heirlooms, representing a link between the living and the dead (Lillios 1999). In general, these studies have followed a line of enquiry initiated within northern European prehistory about a decade ago (Bradley 2002; Hingley 1996; Holtorf 1997, 1998; O’Brien 2002), and have generated an entirely new understanding of the extraordinary cultural longevity of some Neolithic sites and landscapes and of the practices associated with them.

In this paper, we would like to contribute to this line of enquiry by examining how later prehistoric Iberian societies articulated natural elements, material culture, and

monumentalised places within their religious ideology in order to construct a notion of cultural memory. We shall be particularly concerned with the role played by the diverse shapes, textures, and colours of geological features and objects in rituals of ideological reproduction, particularly in the domain of funerary ideology. In other words, we shall be looking at how special rocks and rocky formations become integrated in religion and cultural memory. The ethnographic record provides countless examples of how people often use *organic* or *biological* metaphors to interpret geological formations. Minerals and rocks may be seen as *substances* and *anatomies* of the visible portions of the Earth and, as such, they can become integrated into world views that explain the origins of humankind, nature, and the universe (Scarre 2004). In the specific case of western Europe, the construction of megalithic monuments seems to have involved the careful selection of stones, which were occasionally transported over relatively long distances (Kalb 1996; Thorpe *et al.* 1991; Thorpe and Williams-Thorpe 1991; Tilley 1994: 157). It has also been claimed that in the British Isles, the structure and organisation of materials used in the construction of some megalithic monuments embodied metaphorical materialisations of the structure and form of surrounding geological formations (Bradley 1998a: 16–17, 2000: 110; Richards 1996a: 205), as well as connections with other natural elements, such as water (Richards 1996b).

This paper is divided in two sections; each examines specific forms of material mnemonics through a case study for which our ongoing fieldwork has produced new empirical evidence. In the first section, we examine the case of the Upper Viar River Valley (Almadén de la Plata, Seville, Spain) in order to explore how some *natural substances* (*i.e.* rocks) that are special because of their geological *structure* and physical *texture*, may have been used by local Neolithic and Copper Age communities in order to embody notions of time and memory as part of their funerary practices. To this end, we examine mostly unpublished data obtained in three excavation and survey seasons carried out between 2000 and 2002 by the universities of Seville and Southampton. Secondly, we shall examine the region of Antequera (Málaga, Spain) to investigate how, because of their topographic and visual prominence, as well as factors such as shape and colour, remarkable geological formations were incorporated into a Neolithic ideological landscape, conveying notions of mythical and genealogical past. In this case, we shall use data gathered in fieldwork carried out in 2006 as part of an ongoing research project run jointly by the universities of Seville and Southampton.

The Palacio III and IV megalithic monuments: natural substances, ancestors, memory

The first case study is located in the western sector of the Sierra Morena (Southwest Spain) in the Upper Viar Valley, a tributary of the Guadalquivir River. The Viar River Basin is a fluvial depression about 30km long and 5–6km wide (in its lower reaches, where it joins the Guadalquivir). In geological terms, it is the southernmost of the post-Hercynian Palaeozoic basins of the Hesperian Massif in its Spanish side, located just on the contact zone between the Ossa-Morena Zone (ZOM in its Spanish acronym) and the South Portuguese Zone (ZSP) (Sierra del Pino and Moreno 1997, 1998). The Viar Basin has a complex geology, bound by metasedimentary and igneous materials of the ZOM on the Northeast, by Devonian and Carboniferous material of the so-called Huelva pyritic belt as well as late Hercynian igneous rocks (plutonic granitic landscapes of El Berrocal and Los Melonares) on the Southwest, and by the Tertiary sedimentary materials of the Guadalquivir River Basin on the Southeast. The Viar Basin includes, therefore, fluvial and lacustrine fillings interspersed with flows of basic lava. The range of rocks available in the region includes

detritic rocks with interspersed basalts, the so-called *Red Detritic Sequence* (Simancas 1983), with a predominance of sandstones, schists, slates and granodiorites (Sierra del Pino and Moreno 1997: 466). This geological setting produces a great variety of rock formations and textures, of which the prehistoric settlers of the region seem to have been well aware. We have documented various examples in which rocks with unusual mineralogical and physical properties were used for votive purposes associated with megalithic monuments. Two of these cases deserve special consideration here, as they seem to relate to beliefs regarding memory, time past, and ancestors.

The first of these cases is Dolmen de Palacio IV, a megalithic structure of trapezoidal plan and about 5m in length, made of uprights of red conglomerate, and covered by a mound about 2m high and 10m across. During the surveys carried out in 2000, a scatter of 15 rather peculiar pseudo-cylindrical and pseudo-conical rocks between 5 and 15cm in length was found within a radius of approximately 20m around the entrance of the dolmen (Figure 2.1). A geological and archaeometric study of these rocks (Polvorinos del Río *et al.* 2002) established that they are spilites, that is to say, rocks of sodium composition formed by the alteration of pre-existing basic volcanic rocks. Microscopically, these rocks display an unusual concentric structure formed by two zones that display significant textural and compositional differences. The internal zone, with a diameter of approximately 5–6cm, is formed by a dark micro-crystalline rock in which little plagioclase crystals and relatively large vacuoles can be distinguished. The outer zone is formed by a grid of plagioclase equigranular phenocrysts immersed in a red matrix. The entire rock has undergone a major process of spilitisation that has modified the original mineralogy and is evident in the large amount of secondary components still present. These rocks are local, and the rather unusual pseudo-cylindrical shape can be explained by the complexity of underwater volcanic episodes to which later processes of spilitisation must be added. The combined action of both phenomena must have caused the volcanic rocks to assume their final form.

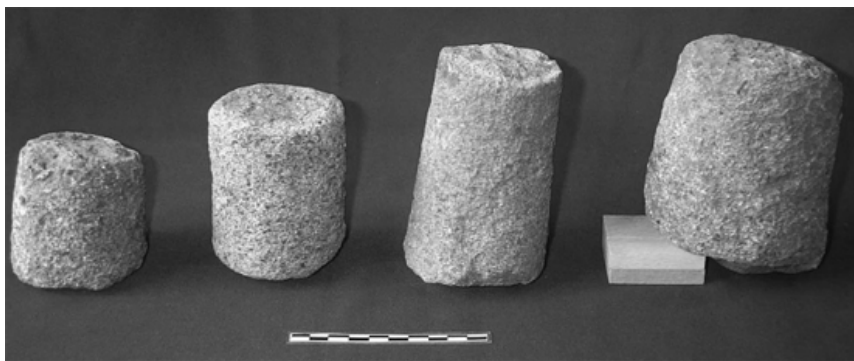


Figure 2.1. *Betils found at the entrance of Dolmen de Palacio IV (Almadén de la Plata, Sevilla). Photograph by L. García Sanjuán.*

The peculiar shape and texture of these rocks were apparently noticed by the prehistoric inhabitants of this region. Based on their find context (they were found scattered at the entrance of the dolmen), we suggest that these rocks may have been utilised as *betils* by the users of Dolmen de Palacio IV, who attached a special symbolic value to them. The utilisation of betils in megalithic funerary contexts is fairly well attested in southern Iberia (Almagro Gorbea 1968, 1973). Betils are a relatively homogeneous subset of Neolithic and Copper Age idols, and can be differentiated from other idols of similar shape (like the so-

called *cylindrical idols*) by the absence of engraved motifs suggesting anthropomorphism. In some burials of Southeast Spain, betils were found in relatively large clusters, as is the case of Llano Manzano (42 specimens) or tomb 16 at Los Millares (45 specimens) (Almagro Gorbea 1973: 68–69). Of particular relevance are the groups found just outside tombs 7 and 9 at Los Millares (Almagro Basch and Arribas Palau 1963: 175–176, 326, 416, 419), where some of the betils were covered in red ochre (Figure 2.2). These were conical and pseudo-cylindrical in shape, between 10 and 20cm in size (with some larger, exceptional cases), and morphologically similar to those found at the entrance of Dolmen de Palacio IV. The recurrent placing of these objects outside funerary chambers, as external offerings, suggests that their significance could have been rather different from that of the other objects used as grave goods accompanying the bodies deposited inside. Betils would have been more immediately visible and accessible than the objects placed inside the tombs (which included other idols) and betils also lacked the painted or engraved motifs like typical of other categories of idols, such as so-called *plaques*, *phalanxes*, *cylindrical* or *anthropomorphic idols*, which usually invested them with a human-like aspect (eyes, hair, clothing, *etc.*). It is as if the sacred notion represented by those idols (prevailing views of which range from notions of Earth Mother to a Goddess of Death) was substantially different from that embodied in the betils. Rather than representing goddesses or supernatural beings, it has been suggested that the betils placed outside the Los Millares *tholoi* may have represented the ancestors buried inside (Almagro Basch and Arribas Palau 1963: 175).



Figure 2.2. Betils found at the entrance of Tomb 9 at Los Millares (Santa Fe de Mondújar, Almería (Arribas Palau and Almagro Basch 1963: 419).

The possibility that the betils encapsulated a rather different idea than that expressed by other Neolithic and Copper Age idols is further supported by their period of currency. All the other idols seem to disappear from the funerary record abruptly at the start of the Early Bronze Age, in what has been referred to as an ideological twist towards *aniconism*

(Hurtado Pérez 1990: 173), whereas betils continued in use. Luis Siret mentioned betils or betil-like objects as being found in tombs associated with Early Bronze Age Argaric settlements, such as those at Fuente Bermeja, Campos, El Oficio, El Argar, and Ifre (Almagro Gorbea 1973: 99). More recently collected evidence comes from the excavations carried out at the Bronze Age settlement of Fuente Álamo (Almería), where four cylindrical stones spatially associated with funerary contexts were found. As the excavators pointed out, two of them (numbers 1 and 4) displayed a notable morphological similarity to the Copper Age betils (Risch and Schubart 1991: 196).

Hypothetically, then, betils may have played a twofold role as mnemonic devices. For the users of the collective tombs they may first have evoked and represented specific individuals whose remains were kept inside the tombs. Second, for the Early Bronze Age people whose funerary ideology had experienced substantial changes, they may have evoked specific notions of a time past. In the case of the betils found at Dolmen de Palacio IV, the morphological and contextual similarities between them and those found in south-eastern Spanish sites suggest that they may have played the first of those roles. Because of their rarity and singularity (the exceptional is more eye-catching than the common) these volcanic stones may have been selected to play an important symbolic role of representing the ancestors. We have no evidence for a continuity in the use of betils during the Early Bronze Age in the Almadén de la Plata region: the only funerary context of this period excavated in the region, La Traviesa (García Sanjuán 1998), yielded no morphologically or geologically equivalent object.

A similar (although perhaps more ambiguous) example of stones with unusual physical properties selected to play a symbolic role, possibly involving memory and remembrance, was recorded at Dolmen de Palacio III, a megalithic structure lying barely 100m Northeast of Dolmen de Palacio IV. Two excavation seasons carried out by the universities of Seville and Southampton in 2001 and 2002 provided a rich empirical record of the funerary practices that took place in the past at this megalithic site. The location was used over a long time span, in which at least three discrete architectural features were constructed: a passage grave of undetermined date, a Copper Age *tholos* tomb (in relatively good condition), and an Iron Age cremation pit and cairn (also in good condition). Since approximately only a quarter of the mound of the megalithic structure was excavated, it is likely that other unidentified deposits may have been present. Although the study on the Palacio III funerary complex is still in preparation, various preliminary reports have already been published (cf. Forteza González *et al.* 2008; García Sanjuán 2005b; García Sanjuán and Wheatley 2006). Among the *tholos* grave goods (totalling nearly 200 objects, including ceramic vessels, lithic tools, polished hand-axes, *etc.*), various pieces of quartz and rock crystal were found (Figure 2.3):

- Blade 35. Rock crystal blade: 40mm in length. No retouch.
- Ornament 3: Pebble of a cryptocrystalline variety of quartz with large quantities of reddish veins caused by iron oxides. It can be characterised as very hard, very smooth in texture, with a powerful translucent appearance and vitreous shine. Against the light, this quartz nodule produces a strong *organic* effect.
- Ornament 4: Milky quartz monocrystal: 33mm in length, semi-transparent and with a vitreous shine (Figure 2.3e).
- Ornament 5: Milky quartz monocrystal: 47mm in length, transparent, and with an intensely vitreous shine. Its section is practically equidimensional and is formed by a prism and a hexagonal pyramid with approximately equidimensional faces

(Figure 2.3d).

- Ornament 6: Nodule of calcedon, cryptocrystalline variety of quartz. This stone is formed by microcrystalline fibres of quartz arranged in parallel groups crossed inside a siliceous matrix. Botroidal in aspect, it shows a clear conchoidal fracture as well as a wax-like shine that is consistent with handling and manipulation.
- Ornament 7: Egg-size pebble of a cryptocrystalline variety of quartz. Very hard, with a very smooth surface, pale beige (almost white) colour and extremely rounded in shape. In some sections it shows very fine reddish veins, probably caused by iron oxides.

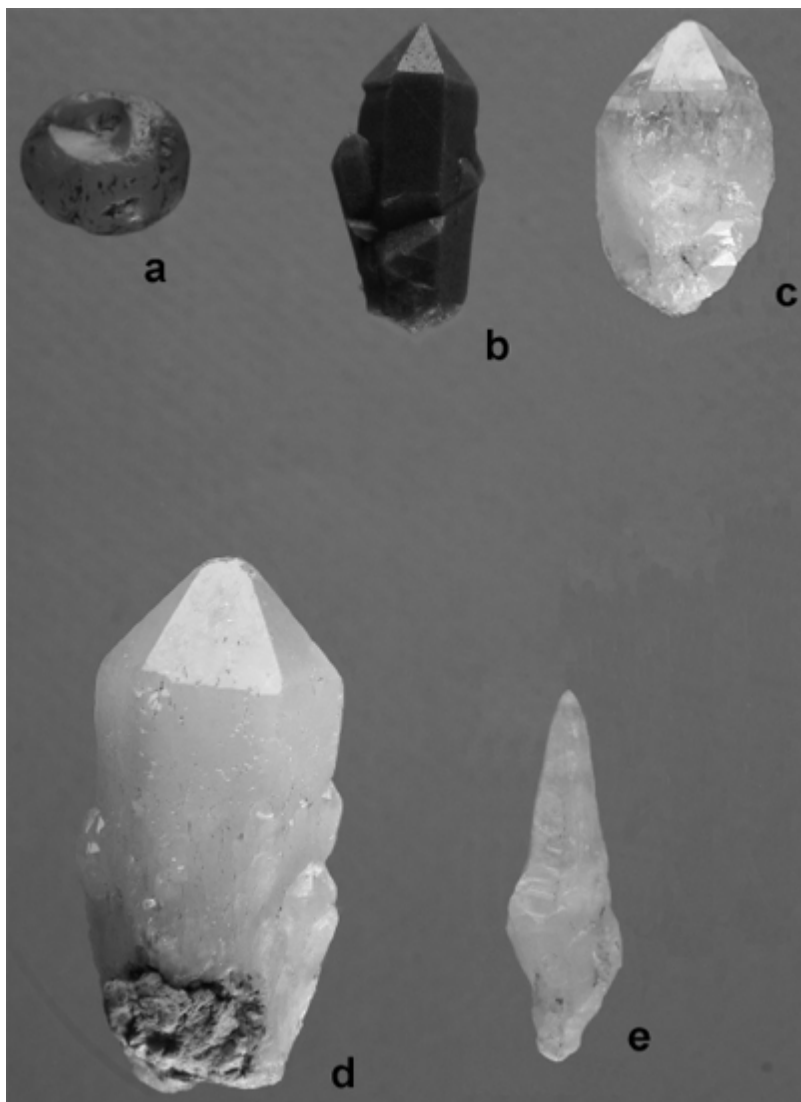


Figure 2.3. Selection of nodules and mono-crystals of quartz found at the Palacio III funerary complex: a) Hoard ornament 3; b) Hoard ornament 2; c) Hoard ornament 1; d): Tholos ornament 5; e) Tholos ornament 4. Photograph by M. A. Blanco de la Rubia.

Blade 35 (rock crystal) and ornaments 3, 4, 5 and 6 were found on the rocky floor of the *tholos*, that is to say, on its main (base) depositional level, together with the majority of the grave goods. Ornament 7, however, was found inside an intriguing architectural structure excavated below the rocky base of the *tholos*. This structure, covered by various stone slabs, contained no artefacts, but only the fragment of a broken stela and the egg-like quartz referred to as *ornament* 7. Our provisional interpretation of this underground structure is that it was made as part of a foundational ceremony carried out at the time the construction of the *tholos* was started.

SITE	ARTEFACT	REFERENCE
Alberite (Cádiz)	1 rock crystal prism	Ramos Muñoz and Giles Pacheco 1996
Dolmen de los Hurones (Cádiz)	1 quartz monocrystal	Unpublished
Hidalgo (Cádiz)	1 rock crystal core	Carriazo y Arroquia 1973
Los Gabrieles (Huelva)	1 blade and 1 core of rock crystal	Cabrero García 1978
La Zarcita (Huelva)	1 core of rock crystal	Cerdán Márquez <i>et al.</i> 1975
Martín Gil (Huelva)	1 rock crystal arrowhead	Cerdán Márquez <i>et al.</i> 1975
Navalcán (Salamanca)	2 quartz monocrystals	Bueno Ramírez <i>et al.</i> 1999
Ontiveros (Sevilla)	16 rock crystal arrowheads	Carriazo y Arroquia 1962
Palacio III (Sevilla). Tholos	2 quartz monocrystals; 3 quartz nodule; 1 blade of rock crystal	Forteza González <i>et al.</i> 2007
Palacio III (Sevilla). Hoard	2 quartz monocrystals and 1 nodule	Forteza González <i>et al.</i> 2007
Pozuelo 1 (Huelva)	2 cores and 1 bead of rock crystal	Cerdán Márquez <i>et al.</i> 1975
Pozuelo 5 (Huelva)	4 cores of rock crystal	Cerdán Márquez <i>et al.</i> 1975
Pozuelo 7 (Huelva)	3 cores of rock crystal	Cerdán Márquez <i>et al.</i> 1975
Quinta do Anjo (Setúbal)	3 cores of rock crystal	Soares 2003
Soto II (Huelva)	2 fragments of rock crystal	Balbin Behrmann and Bueno Ramírez 1996

Table 2.1. Rock crystal and quartz items among grave goods of megalithic monuments of southern Iberia.

A recent review of the literature (Forteza González *et al.* 2008) shows that quartz and rock crystal items used as grave goods are fairly widespread within southern Iberian megaliths (Table 2.1). Because of their similarity with the two monocrystals found at Palacio III (labeled ornaments 4 and 5), two monocrystals recorded at Dolmen de Navalcán (Toledo) stand out. However, the most impressive quartz monocrystal ever found in southern Spain is that from Dolmen de Alberite (Villamartín, Cádiz). This smoky quartz monocrystal, truncated on its base and fairly transparent, is huge (20cm long by 7cm wide at the base); it is a very exotic item, indeed, and extremely difficult to find in other locations in the Iberian Peninsula (Ramos Muñoz and Giles Pacheco 1996). It had been placed inside the megalithic chamber, on a thick layer of red ochre, together with a collection of grave good objects that included flint blades, nearly 2000 beads of variscite, bone, and shell, a betil, and a stone palette with remains of ochre. Equally remarkable is the collection of 16 rock crystal arrowheads found in the corridor of Dolmen de Ontiveros (Valencina de la

Concepción, Sevilla) next to two skeletons (Mata Carriazo 1962). These display a fairly uniform morphology, with each having two very finely retouched long lateral barbs. Another relatively well-documented case is Dolmen de la Encina, at the Los Gabrieles megalithic necropolis (Valverde del Camino, Huelva). Among the grave goods found in this burial chamber were two very narrow, bent, and extremely sharp rock crystal blades together with a rock crystal core for micro-blades (Cabrero García 1988). The presence of quartz and rock crystal objects has already been noted in the megalithic monuments of Northwest Spain; a study carried out 25 years ago counted up to 26 monocrystals, some in their natural state, others exhibiting some kind of working, from 13 different sites (Fábregas Valcarce 1983). As well as occurring in the form of portable objects that were deposited on the floor of the tomb, quartz was also found as small pebbles (10–15cm of maximum diameter) in the upper part of the tholos filling. One interpretation of these is that they were embedded in the outer (and perhaps even the inner) face of the corbelled roof for decorative or symbolic effect. It is also possible that there was a special concentration of these (perhaps some sort of mini-cairn) at the base of the stela that may have topped the mound, marking the position of the tomb.

The utilisation of quartz as an architectural element has been noted throughout European megalithic sites. Probably the most remarkable case is that of Newgrange (Ireland), where the interpretation put forward by the excavator (O’Kelly 1982) suggested that the entrance to the megalithic chamber was flanked by a massive accumulation of blocks of white quartz which formed a wall that sustained the mound while at the same time provided a very impressive monumental façade that would have acted as a grand background to stage certain ceremonies (Bradley 1998b: 104). Regardless of the existing controversy on how exactly those stones were deployed and arranged, it is clear that the use of quartz was a significant part of the architecture at Newgrange. In southern Iberia, cases of quartz used for the construction of megalithic cairns are also known, but this is a topic that has not been studied in detail, as the mounds of tombs have traditionally been regarded as of secondary interest and little attention has been paid to the geological nature of the constructive materials.

In the case of Almadén de la Plata, we argue that the utilisation of monocrystals and nodules of quartz and rock crystal in both the grave goods and architecture of funerary monuments may have had a mnemonic significance. As mentioned above, one of the structures identified at the Palacio III funerary complex was a passage grave. This monument was very badly destroyed: in fact, almost all the orthostats of the chamber’s North side were missing, either recently re-used by local farmers or destroyed in antiquity. In direct contrast to the *tholos*, no *in situ* deposits corresponding to prehistoric activity were recorded inside this passage grave. The only artefactual deposit in a primary position inside this megalithic construction was found underneath the single surviving orthostat of the chamber’s North side, which had collapsed towards the inside. Carefully placed under this fallen upright was a hoard composed of a dozen amber beads, three silver rings, a small piece of pottery, and *three quartz items*, classified as follows (Figure 2.3):

- Hoard Ornament 1: Quartz monocrystal or rock-crystal variety. Dimensions: 20.5×15×10mm. Texture: transparent and vitreous shine. It is formed by a ditrigonal prism and topped by a ditrigonal pyramid (Figure 2.3c).
- Hoard Ornament 2: Quartz monocrystal of prasiolite variety. Dimensions 20.7×10mm. Texture: olive-green colour (probably caused by inclusions of chlorite or hedenbergite) and vitreous shine. It is formed by a regular hexagonal prism with

equidimensional faces and topped by a hexagonal pyramid. It presents two smaller crystals, one at the base and another at the top crossing right through the pyramid. Both smaller crystals appear on alternate faces, forming an angle of approximately 120°, thus following the rules of hexagonal symmetry. Both smaller crystals display a right-handed rotation of the main crystal's axis. This piece must be regarded as truly exceptional, as no analogues are known within the Iberian Peninsula. After a preliminary search, the nearest analogues are to be found in Toscana (Italy) and the island of Sefiros (Greece) (Ralph and Ralph 1993–2007) (Figure 2.3b)

- Hoard Ornament 3: Nodule of quartz, carneole variety. It shows a botroidal aspect, resinous shine, and a strongly reddish-orange colour (Figure 2.3a).

Although the technological characterisation of this hoard is still under study, the morphology of the three rings and a small articulated metallic piece (that seems to have been part of the amber bead necklace) clearly indicate its non-prehistoric chronology. Instead, this hoard appears to represent a re-utilisation of the dolmen during the Orientalising Iron Age, a period when the site was also being used for funerary purposes, as demonstrated by the cremation structure found between the passage grave and the *tholos*, radiocarbon-dated to 980–660 (1 σ) cal BC (García Sanjuán 2005b).

Whatever the specific chronology of this hoard, however, it seems highly significant that a votive deposit placed under the fallen orthostat of the old dolmen, at some time in the Iron Age, included three items of quartz, two of which were quartz monocrystals identical in morphology and geological characterisation to those that had been placed as grave goods in the Copper Age *tholos*, hundreds of years before. Quartz, either because of its peculiar properties as a raw material or because of its remarkable morphologies, colours, and textures, seems to have had an extraordinary longevity as an element of the material culture of the local populations.

Another finding made recently at the Upper Viar Basin may be of relevance. Early in 2005, at a location about 2.5km as the crow flies from Dolmen de Palacio III, two new “warrior stelae” were discovered. These are stone *monuments* loosely dated to the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age; that is to say, they date to between c. 1300 and 550 cal BC. Approximately 114 examples of these stelae are currently known from Southwest Iberia (see Celestino Pérez 2001; Harrison 2004 for recent syntheses of this topic). The original context of these stones is unclear; both were found on a clearance cairn made by local farmers for arable agriculture. Although no excavation of this site has been carried out, a micro-spatial survey (García Sanjuán *et al.* 2006a) revealed a scatter of quartz nodules whose focus appears to be the location where the stelae were found. Since the presence of this accumulation of quartz cannot be readily explained by local geology, it is our view that these nodules may have derived from a *cairn*-like structure that may well relate to the original context of the stelae. Furthermore, they are fairly similar in texture and size to those found as part of the Palacio III *tholos* vault and mound. We have, therefore, suggested that the (at least partly modern) clearance cairn might be thought of as an archaeological site with a potentially long history. Furthermore, it may have developed from a pre-existing structure, which would therefore make it a strong candidate for the original context of the stelae that was monumentalised through the use of quartz.

Altogether, the data described above suggests that, for the local populations of the region under study, quartz was regarded as a rock of high symbolic value, used both in the architecture of funerary monuments and as a votive material, over a long period of time. In the Copper Age, quartz monocrystals and nodules were included – perhaps as personal

amulets – among the objects deposited inside the Palacio III *tholos* chamber. In the same monument, nodules of quartz were used as part of the corbelled vault, perhaps to emphasize the external side of the covering mound that may even have been marked by a stela. In the Iron Age, the passage grave of the Palacio III funerary complex was re-utilised, and a hoard of objects was carefully hidden underneath a fallen upright. Among the objects included in this hoard, three were made in quartz – two of them monocrystals almost identical in shape and size to some of those that had been placed inside the *tholos* chamber centuries before. Similarly, at an undetermined moment of the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age, two stelae were erected a short distance away from the Palacio III site. These stelae seem to have been associated with a large concentration of quartz nodules of very similar morphology and size to those used, again centuries before, in the construction of the *tholos* tomb.

La Peña de los Enamorados: landscape forms, visibility and memory

The second part of this paper concerns the ways in which southern Iberian prehistoric societies established highly patterned relationships between places within the landscape and how these relationships may have conveyed notions of time past and cultural memory. To this end, we outline some recent findings regarding a well-known megalithic monument in southern Iberia, Dolmen de Menga (Antequera, Málaga) and its relationship to La Peña de los Enamorados, a prominent landscape feature in the vicinity that may have held special significance to communities who inhabited the region in the Neolithic and Copper Age.

The Antequera megalithic necropolis is composed of three large constructions: the Menga and Viera passage graves, both lying in close spatial range and located just outside the modern town of Antequera, and the El Romeral *tholos*, located some 2km to the Northeast. With a corridor of dressed orthostats and covering slabs, approximately 19m in length, and terminating in a small chamber accessible through a square opening in an orthostat, Viera is a megalithic construction comparable in design and architectural scale to other examples in Andalusia. Its close neighbour, Menga, is one of the most remarkable Iberian megaliths known: it is a gallery grave, approximately 27.5m in length, covered by a mound roughly 50m in diameter. At the present entrance (at least one pair of original uprights is now missing), the chamber is almost 2m wide but it broadens to a maximum width of around 5.5m before tapering slightly towards the rear upright to around 4m wide (Figure 2.4). The structure is covered by single roof-slabs, and three further pillar-like uprights are located within the chamber, acting either as supporting pillars for the roof or as architectural devices to structure the interior space. If in terms of design and layout Menga is relatively unexceptional, its size (particularly the size of the uprights and capstones) is quite remarkable. According to a recent study, each of Menga's capstones weigh between 60 and 90 tons, with capstone number 5 reaching slightly over 150 tons (Carrión Méndez 2006: 169). The scale of the construction and the use of central pillars within the structure are of themselves sufficient to distinguish Menga from other megalithic chambered tombs, and to raise the question as to whether Dolmen de Menga can be considered as simply a burial chamber.



*Figure 2.4. Dolmen de Menga (Antequera, Málaga). View from the entrance inwards.
Photograph by D. Wheatley.*

There are two other respects, however, in which Dolmen de Menga is highly unusual. Firstly, recent excavations within its chamber have revealed at the rear of the monument a circular shaft, almost 20m deep, which might be interpreted either as a functioning well or as a ritual shaft (Carrión Méndez 2006). Although there is no definitive evidence for a date, there remains a possibility that this feature pre-dates the construction of the megalithic structure.² In southern Spain, the only corroborated cases of deep prehistoric shafts were found at the site of El Jadramil (Cádiz), where several shafts dated in the Late Neolithic and Copper Age were recorded in spatial association with funerary artificial caves (*hipogea*) and

domestic structures. El Jadramil shaft E-III was explored to a depth of 9m before the excavation was stopped for safety reasons (Lazarich González *et al.* 2003). Although the excavators were unable to establish the exact depth and precise function of these shafts, their geological nature ruled out the possibility that they were features associated with the mining of flint or copper. Their use as water wells is the most plausible explanation. The excavators did record some fragments of Bell-Beaker pottery (Lazarich González *et al.* 2003: 134), which might also suggest the possibility of ritual practice. Prehistoric ritual wells and shafts are known from other regions of Europe. In England, examples include the later Neolithic site of Maumbury Rings – where a ring of deep circular shafts was set within a henge monument (Bradley 1975) – as well as isolated examples, such as the Wilsford Shaft near Stonehenge (Ashbee *et al.* 1989). If Menga's shaft were accepted as of Neolithic date, then the construction of the massive megalithic structure (likely to be of the Late Neolithic – early 4th millennium BC) may have been intended to mark the site of an already significant locus. If so, then Menga is probably better understood as a ritual building in a broad sense, rather than just as a burial chamber, although it must be accepted that this is speculative, since neither shaft nor chamber have been accurately dated and it is unclear whether the monument originally held burials.



Figure 2.5. La Peña de los Enamorados as seen from the top of Dolmen de Menga's mound (Antequera, Málaga). Photograph by D. Wheatley.

Finally, Dolmen de Menga is also anomalous with respect to its orientation. The vast majority (95%) of chambered tombs in Iberia are oriented between 55 and 125 degrees, which corresponds to the range of sunrise azimuths between the summer and winter solstice (Hoskin 2001). This association between the tombs' orientations and the sunrise azimuths suggests that ancient peoples laid out the axis of chambered tombs so that their corridors faced the rising sun. The range of variation suggests that tomb construction could be initiated at various times of the year. Once again, Dolmen de Menga is highly anomalous in that it is oriented far to the north of the maximum limit of the sunrise. Instead, as has frequently been noted, Menga faces towards La Peña de los Enamorados, the largest visible

landscape feature in the region: a prominent rock outcrop approximately 7km to the Northeast of Menga and visible from most of the Antequera depression (Figure 2.5).

In geological terms, La Peña de los Enamorados stands as an elevation of the Subbética zone of the Béticas mountain ranges, which represent the westernmost end of the European Alpine mountain system formed in the Miocene. This elevation is, in fact, somewhat isolated within the Antequera Quaternary depression, flanked by the South by the Triassic heights of the El Torcal karstic system, as well as (further South) by the high Penibéticas Mountain range, and flanked to the North by the Guadalquivir complex and the outer Subbético domain (Carvajal Gutiérrez 1984; Guarnido Olmedo 1984). Situated in the eastern zone of the Antequera depression, La Peña de los Enamorados is a massively prominent limestone outcrop, with a relatively homogeneous North-South orientation, which rises up to 880 metres above sea level and towers over the Guadalhorce River Basin (the Guadalhorce River itself surrounds La Peña by its South and East sides). The West, North and East faces of La Peña are very steep, especially at the North face, where there is a sheer cliff nearly 100 metres high.

La Peña de los Enamorados has historically been a well-known landscape feature in its immediate geographical setting because of its outstanding visual prominence. It is, therefore, not surprising that it has traditionally acted as a major landmark for travellers who journeyed along the Y-shaped communication route between the lower Guadalquivir Valley to the West, the mountainous regions of Granada to the East, and the Mediterranean coast to the South (in other words: between Sevilla, Málaga and Granada, the three main cities of southern Spain). The find of a *miliarium* (mile-stone) points to the existence of a Roman road from Antikaria (Antequera) to Iliberris (Granada), passing by the southern side of La Peña, where the Guadalhorce River flows (Gozalbes Cravioto 1986). If Antequera has historically been a major crossroads, then La Peña de los Enamorados has been the landmark that announced Antequera from far away to those travellers coming from either the East or the West (from the South it is less visible). However, the main reason why La Peña has been traditionally famous is the shape or silhouette of its profile, which, seen from the East or the West (that is to say, from either of the two main directions travellers historically passing through this region moved to and from), and especially with a low sun, evokes clearly the image of an upturned sleeping human head (Figure 2.6, Figure 2.7).

The pervasiveness of this natural formation in contemporary collective memory is strongly reflected in local folklore. Various legends of Late Medieval origin connect the Castilian conquest of the region (1462 AD) with an oral tradition dealing with relationships between Moors and Christians. Indeed La Peña de los Enamorados takes its name (“Lover’s Rock”) from a tale of impossible love which, in slightly varying versions, relates two young lovers – a Muslim man and a Christian woman – whose relationship was not accepted by their families and who eventually decided to take their lives by throwing themselves from La Peña’s northern cliff, where they were subsequently buried (Jiménez Aguilera 2006). Interestingly, the legends of La Peña de los Enamorados (and the Antequera megalithic monuments, by extension) feature prominently in some 19th century accounts by European (principally English) travellers who made the ‘Romantic tour’ of Moorish southern Spain (Lopez-Burgos 2001). However, as often happens in the folklore of southern Spain, it is quite possible that these Medieval legends featuring Moors and Christians assimilated much older “pagan” traditions: La Peña has also been traditionally considered to be a dormant giant woman, a notion that may embody the remnants of much older myths.



Figure 2.6. La Peña de los Enamorados as seen from the second pillar of Dolmen de Menga (Antequera, Málaga). Photograph by Javier Pérez.



Figure 2.7. La Peña de los Enamorados natural formation as seen from the East at dusk. The right-hand side image has been rotated 90° to show the human-like effect of its silhouette. Photograph by M. A. Blanco de la Rubia.

La Peña de los Enamorados was an important settlement site in late prehistory. Previous studies have reported abundant surface materials (including ceramics, lithics, and residues of metallurgical processing) that suggest the existence of a Copper and Bronze Age settlement on the only available relatively flat area of La Peña's summit, as well as an Early Bronze Age burial area on the southeast slope (Moreno Aráquez and Ramos Muñoz 1983; Suárez Padilla *et al.* 1995). Similarly, a study of rock art in the nearby municipality of Archidona reported the existence of a rock art shelter on the northern cliff of La Peña,

although this reference, as published (Muñoz Vivas 1992), was rather vague and did not provide an exact cartographic location for the site.

Fieldwork carried out by a joint team from the universities of Sevilla and Southampton in 2006 has significantly improved the characterisation of La Peña de los Enamorados as an archaeological complex of some note, adding new temporal and cultural dimensions to what was already known about it. Specifically, the new empirical evidence strongly suggests that La Peña de los Enamorados had a more significant, complex, and structured relationship with Dolmen de Menga than has previously been realised. During 2006, three new sites were identified at the northern side of La Peña. The first of these sites, Matacabras, seems to be the rock shelter mentioned above for which only vague references (and no consistent records) previously existed. This appears as a huge triangle-shaped natural fissure at the base of the northern cliff of La Peña – an imposing wall, nearly 100m high, with striking reddish and orange colour, that provides a dramatic background for the rock art sanctuary (Figure 2.8). Work in progress by Drs. R. de Balbín Behrmann and P. Bueno Ramírez suggests that the shelter includes a range of schematic rock art motifs that, although rather weathered, can be seen to include representations of animal figures, anthropomorphs, and abstract motifs. The preliminary interpretation of this site suggests also the existence of an *esteliforme* (stela-like) anthropomorphic element in which the natural shape of the rock has been dressed and combined with painting to produce a human-like form (Bueno Ramírez *et al.* 2006). Although only direct radiocarbon dating of the pigments will provide a precise chronology for this site, the morphology of a small anthropomorphic figure suggests, by comparison with analogues from the Spanish Levant, a general date between the mid-4th and late 3rd millennium BC (Bueno Ramírez *et al.* 2006).

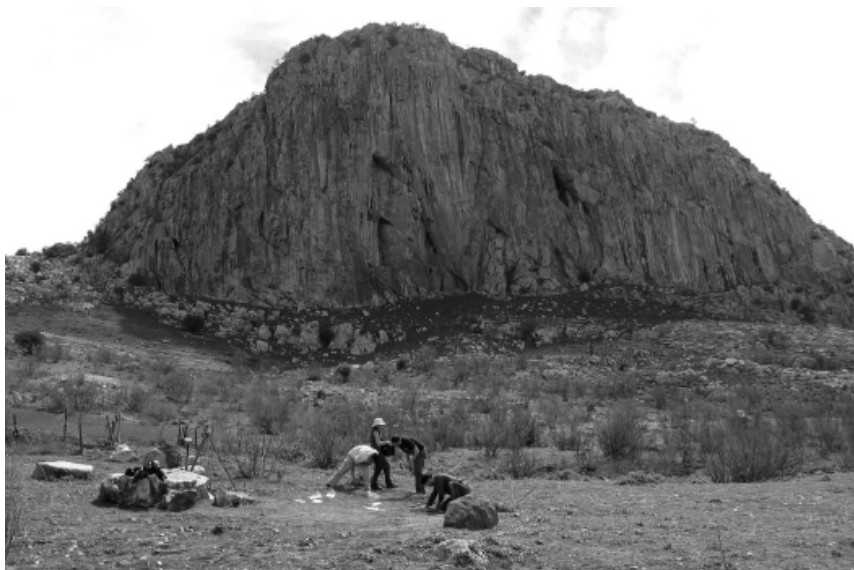


Figure 2.8. La Peña de los Enamorados North cliff. On the foreground, the Piedras Blancas I site can be distinguished. At the background, the Matacabras rock art shelter can be seen as a triangular crevice at the base of the cliff. Photograph by L. García Sanjuán.

The second of the new sites, Piedras Blancas I, is also located at the foot of La Peña's northern cliff(barely 250m from the rock art shelter) and consists of a scatter of microlithic

tools spread around a large flat block of limestone (containing veins of quartz), approximately 3m long by 1.5m wide. Although apparently 'natural' (that is, it lacks any obvious signs of quarrying or dressing), this stone block is strikingly similar in shape and size to stones that in other regions of northern Spain (such as Navarra and the Basque country) are regularly described as menhirs (see, for example, Peñalver Iribarren 1983). This block of stone appears to act as the spatial focus of the scatter of microliths, which, according to their technological characterisation, can be roughly dated to the Late Neolithic/Early Copper Age. Although further work is needed to clarify aspects such as the specific context of this stone, its geological provenance, and its original position, we believe that a spatial, cultural, and possibly functional/ritual association existed between this site and the rock art shelter.

Approximately 230m to the northeast of Piedras Blancas I, a third prehistoric site was discovered: Piedras Blancas III. This site appears to consist of a megalithic cist (or a very small passage grave) formed partly from the natural bedding planes of outcropping slate, augmented with orthostats to form a box-like structure of about 3.5m in length by 1m wide. Also within the boundaries of Antequera's municipality, and at a relatively short distance from La Peña de los Enamorados, a funerary structure very similar in size and morphology was excavated at the site of Cortijo del Tardón. This structure contained a collective burial and was radiocarbon-dated to between 1940–1860 (1 σ) cal BC (Fernández Ruiz *et al.* 1997).

Once it became clear that the northern sector of La Peña had been used in the Neolithic and Copper Ages much more intensely than previously thought, the question of the exact nature of Menga's orientation towards La Peña was brought to the fore, as, surprisingly, this orientation had never been determined with accuracy. Using GIS, the precise orientation of the central axis of Dolmen de Menga was calculated and projected as a line towards La Peña de los Enamorados. It became quickly apparent that the monument was not aligned to the highest point of La Peña, as previously assumed, but instead to its steep, northern cliff, passing through the location of the rock art shelter. Of course, a range of locations is potentially visible when looking out from inside Menga, so we felt it appropriate to quantify this variation by projecting the range of visibility constrained by the narrowest surviving corridor orthostats, firstly, from the rear of the chamber and secondly, from a position just in front of the first central pillar. From the rear of the chamber, an arc of approximately 8 degrees is visible, corresponding to around 650m on the ground at La Peña, and including its summit. From the position nearer the entrance, this arc is around 11 degrees, which corresponds to around 1400m, and includes the entire La Peña complex. Nevertheless, the precise orientation coincides surprisingly closely with La Peña's cliff face. Figure 2.9 shows the suggested relationship between Dolmen de Menga and La Peña de los Enamorados: the main map shows the extension of Menga's main longitudinal axis (*i.e.* its orientation) with the limits of visibility from both the rear of the chamber and the first pillar. The inset bottom right shows these over the ground plan of Menga, while the inset top left shows the location of these lines relative to the sites at La Peña de los Enamorados discussed in the text.

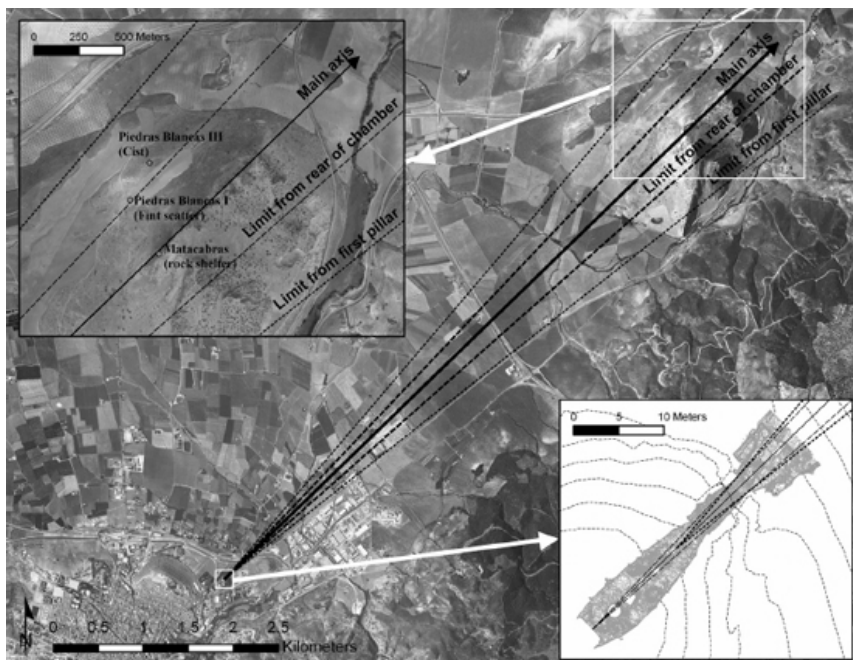


Figure 2.9. Map showing the projection of Dolmen de Menga's longitudinal axis and limits of view fields from the first pillar and the rear of the chamber. Map by D. Wheatley.

This seems to us to point to a very specific relationship between these two prehistoric sites: one, an exceptional natural formation and the other, an extraordinary megalithic monument. The position and orientation of Menga incorporates a very specific architectural/visual reference to the northern cliff of La Peña as an ideologically prominent place within the surrounding landscape which, in turn, must be connected with the recent findings made at that precise location. Hypothetically, the construction of Menga may have been intended to achieve several things. Firstly, it may have been a structure that monumentalised a location of existing significance within the landscape, and which had already seen the construction of a well or a shaft deep into the earth. The precise significance of this is not currently clear – the shaft may have functioned as a well, and then gained greater significance or it may have been intended as a ritual construction from the outset. Either way, the construction of Menga would, in this interpretation, be a continuation of action at a landscape locus which was already imbued with considerable meaning. At the same time, the orientation of the monument made direct reference to the location of the Matacabras rock shelter in the cliff at La Peña de los Enamorados, and perhaps to the focus of activity around the menhir-like limestone block of Piedras Blancas I. While the earliest absolute chronology of the two sites cannot be ascertained at the present time, it seems plausible to postulate a hypothetical relative chronology of events whereby features of the landscape, visibility and time were structured together. In essence, Menga's unusual orientation could be explained as a symbolic reference to a previously existing focus of ritual activity that, at the time when Menga's construction was initiated, was still of great ideological significance. The chronology provisionally attributed to the Matacabras rock art and the Piedras Blancas I lithic scatter gives plenty of margin to hypothesize that there was activity

at the foot of La Peña's North cliff before the construction of Menga.

It may not be particularly important precisely *when* these activities took place: what is to be emphasized is that human activity carried out at a *special* location may have generated a cascading sequence of cross-referencing activities at other points, each of which re-interpreted and reinforced the symbolic importance of the previous *special* places. At the time of its initiation as a remarkable (*special*) architectural achievement, the uniqueness of Menga was further underlined by the highly symbolically charged device of its orientation. Menga's orientation departed completely from the prevailing pattern (sunrise segment of the horizon) to appropriate something of the past, cross-referencing another remarkable (in this case natural) place, thus blending *human* and *natural* monuments, genealogical and mythical time frames. In this sense, Menga has been somehow acting as a compass, pointing at the "North" of its very symbolic and religious origins, something that archaeologists have apparently failed to realise for a long time. Once transformed into a hugely impressive monument, Menga became itself a focus of time past and memory: archaeological evidence shows that Bronze Age, Roman, and Medieval people chose this place for their own funerary practices. Antequera's modern cemetery is itself only 50m away from the megalithic necropolis.

Discussion

This paper has sought to analyse examples of how, through complex associations of natural matter and form, Iberian prehistoric societies used their environment to convey notions of time and memory. In the first of these two examples, we have shown how people used rocks with peculiar shapes, textures and colours (qualities that make them rare) for votive purposes. We have explored how betils made of volcanic rock, and clustered at the entrance of dolmens, may have represented the people (ancestors) buried inside the chambers. We have also discussed evidence that suggests that quartz may have conveyed shared meanings in the cosmologies of southern Iberian prehistoric societies. Furthermore, we have reported the presence of quartz crystals and nodules in the Iron Age hoard placed under the collapsed upright of the Palacio III passage grave, a few meters away from a *tholos* where, several hundred years before, identical quartz nodules had been used as grave goods. Occurring at a time when the passage grave may have been little more than a venerable old ruin, this act suggests that some of the persistent associations of quartz may have had to do with time and memory.

In her interpretation of the European Neolithic religion, Marija Gimbutas linked the ritual and votive use of white quartz nodules to a notion of death and regeneration often associated with funerary spaces that often have circular and oval shapes (Gimbutas 1996: 219). The anthropological literature on prehistoric shamanism contains abundant cases of practices in which quartz and rock crystal are used as a symbol of vitality, magic strength and, of particular relevance within the context of this paper, *connection with the ancestors* (Eliade 2001: 56–60; 2004: 19–20). To mention but just one example, among the pre-Hispanic societies of Venezuela, rock crystal nodules featured among the most important objects of shamans, as they were believed to house the *mauari* (or spirits of the mountains) who assisted them in the healing ceremonies: they also incarnated the spirits of dead shamans (Márquez Pecchio and Eielson 1985). In the European tradition, quartz has also been historically imbued with a high symbolic value: in his book *Lapidarium* (1276–1279AD), Castilian king Alfonso X El Sabio ("The Wise") described the properties of quartz, underlining its potency to connect man with the spiritual world and also as a protective device against danger.

Several other classes of evidence not discussed in this paper suggest that the Palacio III funerary complex functioned in some sense as a place for the materialisation of cultural memory: a kind of *cultural memorial*. This is hinted at by the very permanence of the place as a sacred locus for such a long period of time, by its visual prominence – demonstrated by cumulative viewshed analysis (García Sanjuán *et al.* 2006b), and also by some of the specific funerary patterns identified within the *tholos* tombs, such as the deposition of human teeth inside some ceramic vessels, which in one case included child teeth (found inside vessel 40) which could be the teeth of a deceased child selected for burial, or the milk teeth of a dead adult buried inside the tomb and offered as an accompanying biographical statement (Taylor 2003).

The second case study has highlighted the use of architectural devices, such as orientation and visibility, in order to incorporate a sense of time and memory into a newly built megalithic monument with respect to its ‘natural’ surroundings. Our recent fieldwork in the Antequera region has shown that, as a natural formation, La Peña de los Enamorados articulated complex landscape relationships. These involved several variables. First, there was the series of imposing (exceptional) natural properties that the North cliff of La Peña embodied: the sheer size of the rock, its red colour, and the triangular shape of the crevice chosen as a sacred locus. Second, there was the arrangement of the sacred locus itself: the spatial organisation of the shelter, the symbols depicted of the rock face, as well as the dressing of specific parts of the rock. Thirdly, there is the menhir-like limestone block, and the evidence of activity around it, lying at the foot of La Peña’s northern cliff in front of the rock shelter. Finally, there are Menga’s own unique features: the depth of the shaft reaching for the region’s natural water levels, the sheer size of the orthostats used in its construction, and its anomalous orientation. Among the set of variables involved, including land-forms, water, visibility, natural monuments, human-made monuments, and painted symbols, some seem to have been used as mnemonic devices.

Further analogies for the kind of conceptual relationships that may have been at work between Menga and La Peña since the Neolithic can be found in the anthropological and archaeological literature. In pre-Hispanic Andean cultures some special mountains (and especially volcanoes) were worshipped as tutelary supernatural beings (*Apus*) to which gifts and sacrifices (sometimes in the form of human beings, specifically children) were often paid (Davies 1998: 136). In the Inca culture, mountains with natural shapes resembling, for example, anthropomorphic or animal figures, were imbued with special symbolic meanings and associated to myths and legends. Inca temples often had special gates and spaces oriented towards specific mountains or mountain formations, either because sunrise occurred there at some special time in the year, because their natural silhouette evoked some supernatural being (representing the *Apus*, for example), or because natural places, such as caves (which were seen as portals to the underworld) were found there (Elorrieta Salazar and Elorrieta Salazar 2001). Therefore, mountains, recognisable rocky shapes, cave formations, temples and sanctuaries were articulated together to form complex landscape relationships that incorporated specific orientations (astronomical or otherwise) and which were loaded with highly elaborated, symbolic, and shared meanings.

Further to the North, although still on the American continent, the world view of the indigenous Pueblo societies of New Mexico incorporated equally complex relationships between natural formations, sanctuaries, and burial places. Ethnographic and archaeological evidence shows how, according to Pueblo worldview, the abrupt and rugged volcanic rocky formation of the Albuquerque region was seen as the physical manifestation of Mother Earth’s hard labour in giving birth to all natural beings. In some special places of these

mountains (that because of their geology show very unusual textures and shapes), hidden caves and crevices were believed to act as portals into the underworld, where the dead and other creatures resided (Anschuetz *et al.* 2002: 31). These special loci were used by Pueblo young men as sanctuaries for the four-day-long fast that would lead them to experience the visions that would turn them into adult men. In addition, according to Pueblo religion, once a dead person was buried, his/her souls would wander around in the air for some time, coming in and out of the living through breath. But when the soul of the dead person took the decision to abandon this world forever, it would travel to the mountains and look for special natural places, where symbols painted and engraved on the rock would point the way to the world of the ancestors. Hence, natural places, rock art, death, and time past were articulated together in a complex set of beliefs whereby special places became prominent in cultural memory.

In the Neolithic of southern England, the visibility of existing monuments also seems to have been one factor (possibly among many) in the choice of where to build new megalithic monuments, perhaps because the visibility of abandoned-but-symbolically-laden places would have conveyed greater authority and legitimacy on the new structure (Wheatley 1996: 92). Similar observations have been made regarding the distribution of Neolithic and Bronze Age mounds in southern Scandinavia (Lageras 2002), where it has been claimed that Neolithic farming societies thought of megalithic chambers, with the material remains of the ancestors and their special astronomical orientations, as time-measuring devices necessary for a newly created notion of *lineal time* (Criado Boado 1989: 85).

Conclusion

Our main aim in this paper has been to explore how Neolithic and Copper Age southern Spanish societies established highly patterned relationships between natural elements (matter, form) and human-made devices (artefacts, architectures) in order to maintain their cultural memory. Through a range of examples, we have suggested that the repertoire of mnemonic symbolism during the Neolithic and Copper Age of southern Iberia may have extended well beyond artefacts and funerary architecture, to include natural shapes and forms: from the small unusual rock to the massive geological formation. We hope the ongoing work we have discussed throughout this paper, together with that of other scholars, will contribute to the investigation of the complex and surprising ways in which prehistoric communities constructed their cultural memory, their past and their identity, as part of their social practices.

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Notes

- 1 Understood as the systemic framework of symbolic notions which articulate the relationship between the living and the dead (ancestors), expressed through practices and

rituals that focus on the treatment of the dead bodies (eschatology) and that display an important material dimension.
 Personal communication by F. Carrión Méndez.

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Mnemonic practices of the Iberian Neolithic: The production and use of the engraved slate plaque relics

Katina T. Lillios

Among the thousands of engraved slate plaques found in the Late Neolithic collective burials of southwest Iberia are plaque-relics – fragments of engraved plaques that were reshaped, most often into trapezoidal or rectangular forms, and sometimes perforated. In this paper, I examine the Iberian plaque-relics both in their specific attributes as material culture and as material mnemonics. I draw on a range of approaches and different scales of analysis, specifically by examining their regional variability by frequency, ‘parent’ plaque-type, decorative motifs, perforations, size and form. I conclude by exploring how the plaque-relics were shaped by the social landscape of which they were part and how they may have played a role in transforming that landscape.

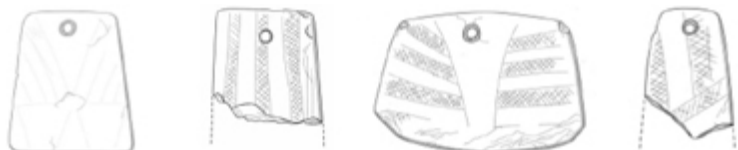
Introduction

Among the thousands of engraved slate plaques found in the Late Neolithic collective burials of southwest Iberia (Lillios 2008) is a small group of what I will call plaque-relics. These relics are fragments of engraved plaques that were reshaped, most often into trapezoidal or rectangular forms, and sometimes perforated (Figure 3.1). While 19th century prehistorians noted these relics, only recently have archaeologists begun to study them in any concentrated way, although their focus tends to be regionally narrow (Gonçalves *et al.* 2003; Oliveira 1993). It is clear, however, that the Iberian plaque-relics have been found in tombs throughout southwest Iberia and they are, thus, a widespread phenomenon (Figure 3.2). Furthermore, there are other classes of relics in Iberia dated to the same time as the plaque-relics, including bacula-relics and cranial discs.¹ Relic-making as a generalized though not necessarily common practice of Neolithic Iberia, therefore, must be considered.

In this paper, I wish to examine the Iberian plaque-relics both in their specific attributes as material culture and as material mnemonics. I will draw on a range of approaches and different scales of analysis, specifically by examining their regional variability by frequency, ‘parent’ plaque-type, decorative motifs, perforations, size and form. I conclude by exploring how the plaque-relics were shaped by the social landscape of which they were part and how they may have played a role in transforming that landscape.

The study of relics has the potential to make important contributions to archaeology and anthropology on a variety of theoretically significant topics. First, parallel treatments of human body parts and artefacts challenge normative (western) conceptions of object/person boundaries as well as traditional museological classification systems. Tracking the biographies of people and things and exploring the contexts in which they are parallel and where they diverge contribute to our understanding of the historically situated nature of personhood as well as the sometimes fluid and unstable boundaries of objects and bodies (Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986). Geary carried out such an analysis in his study of the political economy of European Medieval relics (Geary 1986, 1991). He analyzed the ‘careers’ of saints’ relics, from their ‘production’ in Rome, the Near East, and the western

Roman Empire – to their circulation through gifting, thievery, and commerce, and explores how their value was constructed and their authenticity maintained over their careers, particularly at each transaction, in face of the pervasive scepticism that such relics were indeed the body parts of saints. Without this authenticity, the relics would quickly devolve into inert and generic objecthood. Geary's work also draws attention to a site formation process rarely considered by archaeologists – that of thievery. The clear recognition that a class of artefacts – such as relics – were modified and reused over a period of time also complicates culture historical classifications that structure much archaeological research. Finally, the modification of objects into small items such as the plaque-relics may also provide a rare glimpse into more private or individualised forms of memorialisation than provided by the plaques or by monumental forms of memory-making, such as the construction of megalithic tombs or monumental stelae, more commonly studied by archaeologists. The emergence of these more intimate mnemonics can also reveal something about the nature of the sociopolitical and religious landscape. Indeed, they may suggest forms of resistance to public and collective forms of remembering or the formation of new notions of personhood. As Ranum (1989) argued for northern Europe in the 16th–18th century, the emergence of private souvenir objects (books, flowers, clothing, rings, *etc.*) as well as new spaces of intimacy are coincident with the development of new conceptions of the individual. These 'relic-objects' allowed individuals to communicate with absent loved ones in moments and spaces of privacy and solitude, both reflecting new notions of personhood but also sedimenting these notions in embodied practice. While the social landscape of Neolithic Iberia was likely a very different place than northern Europe in the 16th–18th century, it is useful to consider how the material constraints of material culture are shaped by and themselves shape identity and personhood.



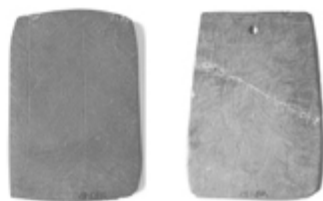
a. Anta 1 do Paço de Aragão



b. Escoural



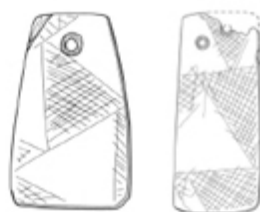
c. Anta Grande de Zambujeiro



d. Brissos 6



e. Comenda da Igreja



f. Mitra



g. Olival da Pega 1



h. Carvão



i. Antões 3



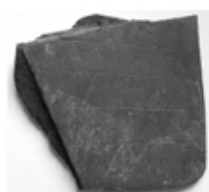
j. Perdígões



k. Santa Margarida 3



l. Tumulus de Jeronigo



m. Vale de Rodrigo 1



n. La Pijotilla



o. La Pizarilla



p. Vega del Peso



q. Cova da Moura



r. Folha das Barradas



s. Monte Abraão



t. Poço Velho



u. Alcogulo 3



v. Cavaleiros 1



w. Herdade da Ordem 1



x. Tapadão da Relva



y. Lapa do Bugio



z. Palmela



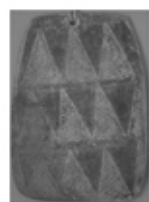
aa. S. Paulo 2



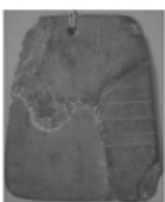
bb. Monte da Velha 2



cc. Ribeira de Odivelas



dd. Cueva de la Mora



ee. Alcanena



ff. Casa da Moura

Figure 3.1 Iberian plaque-relics. a. Anta 1 do Paço de Aragão (Gonçalves et al. 2003), b. Escoural (Gonçalves et al. 2003), c. Anta Grande de Zambujeiro (Gonçalves et al. 2003), d. Brissos 6 (photograph by author, courtesy of Museu Nacional de Arqueologia), e. Comenda da Igreja (left, photograph by author, courtesy of Museu Nacional de Arqueologia; right, Leisner and Leisner 1959: Tafel 27, 1, 78), f. Mitra (Gonçalves et al. 2003), g. Olival da

Pega 1 (Leisner and Leisner 1951: Est. XXVIII, 31 and 49), *h. Carvão* (Leisner and Leisner 1959: Tafel 34, 6, 4), *i. Antões* (Leisner and Leisner 1959: Tafel 19, 3, 9), *j. Perdigões* (Lago et al. 1998: Fig. 9), *k. Santa Margarida 3* (Gonçalves et al. 2003), *l. Tumulus de Jeromigo* (Leisner and Leisner 1951: Est. XXXIX, 8), *m. Vale de Rodrigo 1* (photograph by author, courtesy of Museu Nacional de Arqueologia), *n. La Pijotilla* (Hurtado 1980, 1984), *o. La Pizarilla* (Almagro Basch 1963: Fig. 6), *p. Vega del Peso* (Leisner and Leisner 1959: Tafel 53, 1, 5), *q. Cova da Moura* (Spindler 1981), *r. Folha das Barradas* (Leisner 1965: Tafel 34, 3), *s. Monte Abrão* (Leisner 1965: Tafel 56, 100), *t. Poço Velho* (Paço 1942: Est. XXXIXa and Paço 1942: Est. XLd), *u. Alcogulo 3* (Leisner and Leisner 1959: Tafel 3, 3, 2), *v. Cavaleiros 1* (photograph by author, courtesy of Museu Nacional de Arqueologia), *w. Herdade da Ordem 1* (photograph by author in 2003), *x. Tapadão da Relva* (Oliveira 1993), *y. Lapa do Bugio* (Cardoso 1992; Monteiro et al. 1971), *z. Palmela* (Leisner 1965: Tafel 111, 43), *aa. S. Paulo 2* (Gonçalves et al. 2004), *bb. Monte da Velha 2* (Soares and Arnaud 1984: no. 11), *cc. Ribeira de Odivelas* (Leisner and Leisner 1959: Tafel 34, 9, 2; Almagro Gorbea 1973: fig. 47; Gonçalves 2003: fig. 8), *dd. Cueva de la Mora* (photograph by Jonathan T. Thomas, courtesy of Museu dos Serviços Geológicos), *ee. Alcanena* (Correia 1921: fig. 28), *ff. Casa da Moura* (photograph by author in 2003, courtesy of Museu dos Serviços Geológicos).

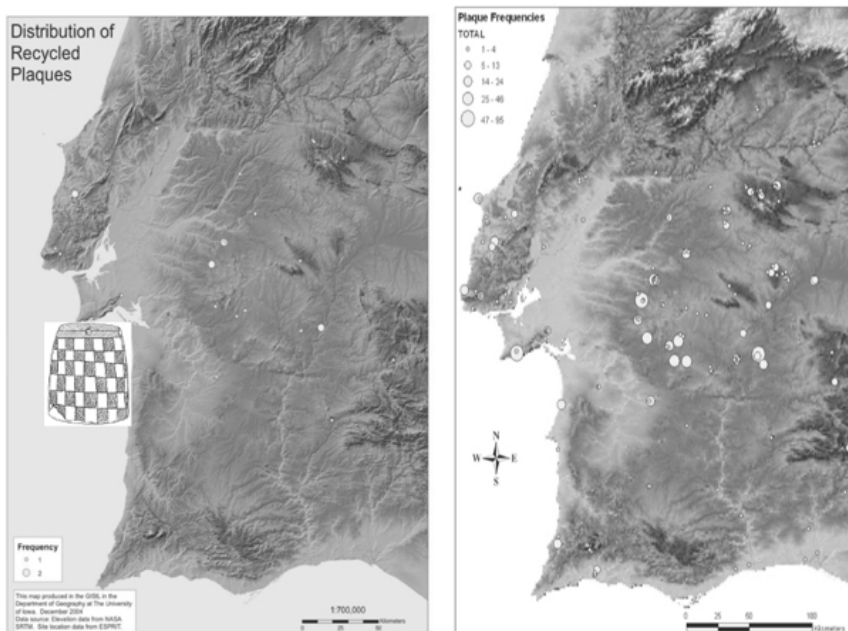


Figure 3.2. Distribution of plaques vs relics.

Definitions

Artefact curation is a widespread cultural phenomenon and can take varied forms. In highly individualised, achievement-oriented cultures, such as contemporary North America, the curation of varied and sometimes highly personal objects associated with a beloved family member (a child's first fallen milk tooth, a grandfather's glasses, a mother's recipe book) or

a memorable event (a Woodstock ticket, a Broadway Playbill, or a wedding invitation) is common and their display, to many householders, a sign of a 'warm' home (Czikzentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981). Even in contemporary North America, however, certain curated goods, often appearing in antique stores or on the popular television program *Antiques Roadshow*, suggest a less intimate practice of memorialisation and the public performance of collectively shared aesthetics and values; these goods include paintings, furniture, ceramics, dolls, jewellery, watches, and guns. In precapitalist societies, which are more often the domain of archaeologists, curated objects are recognized as key markers and legitimators of power, particularly when hereditary or chiefly rights are involved (Lillios 1999). The Maori pounamu (jade) adzes, which were traditionally passed down from chief to his successor, are a classic example of such curated goods with political resonance.

Relic-making is form of curation, and for the purposes of this article, I define it as the modification and miniaturisation of a larger object of value and its curation for a period of time. Because of its transformation into a smaller object, a relic is more portable than its original 'parent' artefact as well as more vulnerable to theft, as Geary's research illustrates. The creation of relics also affords multiple individuals the possibility of ownership, while a less portable 'object', such as a curated body, a large object, or a monument, is more difficult to possess and lends itself to more collective forms of ownership. Finally, the portability of a relic allows for more flexible 'deployment' in more locations; it is less fixed to a space or to a specific territory, in contrast to a monument. For all these reasons, the creation of relics transforms irrevocably the materiality of an object and triggers a new set of possibilities and constraints for human action.

To use the term 'relic' on a set of objects from prehistory, while expedient, also carries connotations that may not necessarily be appropriate. Not all relics, for example, may have been sacred nor created in acts of piety, as in Christianity and Buddhism. One could imagine a situation in which the creation of relics involved somewhat less honourable intentions than bringing the sacred to the masses. For example, if Neolithic people originally placed the engraved plaques in tombs as part of a rite of passage in order to facilitate the smooth passage of the dead to an ancestral realm, the plaques' fragmentation and modification into relics could conceivably have been the work of enemies or competing lineages in acts of looting and sacrilege to prevent the smooth transition of the death to a land of ancestors. The high level of fragmentation of many plaques and the nature of their fragmentation, in some cases with punctures, for example, suggest the possibility of directed force and intentional breakage. Though, as Chapman (2000) and others have noted, intentional fragmentation of material culture can also constitute a ritual process associated with mourning. In a very different context – and serving as an additional cautionary tale to assuming intentionality in relic-making – the Croatian artist Djuro Siroglavic recently cut up and sold thousands of fragments of his painting *The Wave* (the largest painting in the world) in order to raise money for children's charity. Presuming a motivation for the creation and use of relics, therefore, must be resisted.

Even identifying relics in ancient contexts, such as Neolithic Iberia, can present challenges. The imprecision of radiocarbon dates makes the determination of goods or fragments of goods that were curated for a few generations nearly impossible.² Thus, the only relics that are easily recognizable to archaeologists are those whose form was modified in a significant way. It is a distinctive possibility that, in the case of Iberia, unmodified fragments of plaques were curated and then buried. A productive avenue for future research would be to refit plaque fragments both within and among different tombs to determine the

taphonomic processes they underwent and, more specifically, if their fragments had been transported from one tomb to another. The inclusion of plaque fragments in the comprehensive catalogue of the plaques – the Engraved Stone Plaque Registry and Inquiry Tool (ESPRIT) (Lillios 2004a) makes refitting a viable possibility. Another area of potential research would be to carry out experiments on breakage patterns of slate to determine whether the relics were made on plaques that were accidentally fragmented or intentionally fragmented. The saw-marks on one plaque-relic (Figure 3.1m) suggest that, at least in some cases, fragmentation was an intentional component of the creation of relics. In order to ensure that the objects in this study were most likely to have been intentionally curated, I define a plaque-relic as a fragment of an engraved plaque, which may have been fragmented unintentionally or intentionally, that was later reshaped by the polishing of an edge or edges. In the case of some plaque-relics, a perforation was created and/or new engravings were added. Before discussing the plaque-relics individually, a brief presentation of their cultural context is in order.

Cultural context

The plaque-relics and the plaques themselves were created and used between 3000–2500 BC, during the Late Neolithic of southern Iberia. This period, as throughout Western Europe, was one of dynamic change. Agricultural production intensified, walled hilltop settlements were established, monumental tomb-building peaked, and craft production flourished (Chapman 2003). While increasing sedentism and the stability of larger populations is evident, there are also signs that mobility at different scales and at least among certain individuals increased and become more regularised (Lillios 2008). The high frequency of exotic goods in both settlements and burials, such as amphibolite tools, oolitic limestone blades, and marine shells, indicate that some individuals travelled regularly and far, up to 100 km, to procure resources or finished goods, in a system best characterised as logistical mobility (Binford 1980). Objects made of ivory and ostrich eggshell, from North Africa, while rarer, attest to even greater distances travelled. Indeed, Late Neolithic peoples continued to practice many of the same subsistence activities of the Early Neolithic requiring mobility, such as pastoralism, gathering, hunting, and fishing. Much of this mobility took people to and through the Portuguese Alentejo, in the Iberian Southwest, where durable stones such as amphibolite and slate, burial monuments, copper ores, light and fertile soils, and ample pasture were to be found.

Since the late 1800s, over 1300 engraved stone plaques have been recovered from over 200 collective tombs in the south-western corner of the Iberian Peninsula. They are concentrated in the Portuguese Alentejo, but are found east of the Guadiana, south to the Algarve, and north of the Tejo. Their dating remains problematic, given that human bones do not often preserve in the acidic soils associated with burial sites in southwest Iberia. The few dates that exist for human remains in close association with plaques suggest that the plaques were produced between 3000–2500 cal BC (Gonçalves 1999, 2006). Despite their abundance, the plaques were produced in a set of standardised forms, compositional structures, and designs. Eight formal types can be identified: Classic, Transitional, Unipartite, Hoe, Strappy, Rug, Biomorph Simple, and Biomorph Whiskered (Figure 3.3). The most common plaque type is the Classic plaque, and the most common design motif found is the triangle.

The engraved plaques are almost always found in burial contexts and in these contexts they are usually found as complete or nearly complete objects. When the minimum number of individuals is calculated for tombs with plaques, this number is always less than the

number of plaques; thus, it appears that not all people were buried with plaques. Because the majority of plaques are found in the Alentejo – a region known for its acidic soils, our understanding of their relationship to individuals is far from ideal. When plaques are found in association with well-preserved individual bodies, they are found on their chest or by their side. A large shouldered plaque was found in the chest region of an individual at the megalithic site of Santa Margarida 3 (Gonçalves 2003: 90–91). Another set of fragments from a plaque was found in the area of the torso of a 40–45 year old female (ibid: 89).



Figure 3.3. Formal plaque types. a. Type I, Classic plaque, from Cebolinho 1 (Leisner and Leisner 1951: Est. XXXIV, 16), b. Type II, Transitional plaque, from Olival da Pega 2 (Leisner and Leisner 1951: XXVIII, 29), c. Type III, Hoe plaque, from Vega del Peso (Leisner and Leisner 1959: Tafel 53, 1, 4), d. Type IV, Unipartite plaque, from Comenda da Igreja (Leisner and Leisner 1959: Tafel 27, 1, 66), e. Type V, Rug plaque, from S. Bartolomé de la Torre (Márquez, Leisner and Leisner 1952: Lam XL, 1), f. Type IV, Strappy plaque, from Marquesa (Leisner and Leisner 1959: Tafel 4, 5, 8), g. Type V, Biomorph Simple plaque, from Idanha-a-Nova (Leisner 1998: Tafel 75, 2), h. Type VI, Biomorph Whiskered plaque, from Quinta da Farinheira (Gonçalves 1992: fig. 28).

Based on a series of formal and spatial analyses of the Classic plaques – which are the most abundant and standardized of the plaques – I have argued that their designs recorded the genealogy of the dead with whom they were buried. I also suggest that some of the other plaque types (such as the Biomorph Simple, Biomorph Whiskered, and Strappy types) served different purposes. I will not develop this thesis here or present more fully the supporting evidence, as I have published it in other works (Lillios 2002, 2003, 2004b, 2008). The implication of these analyses, however, bears reiteration. That is, the engraved plaques, at least the Classic plaques which constitute the vast majority of the plaques, were material mnemonics that recorded the social identity of select group of the dead and served as a mnemonic resource for future peoples.

The evidence

There are 46 plaque-relics currently catalogued in ESPRIT (where they are classified as

Recycled plaques). Like the plaques themselves, the plaque-relics vary in form, size, and the number of perforations they have. They vary in the type of plaques from which they were made and the decorative motifs represented. What follows is a brief review of the 46 relics, by region and site, from the regions and sites with the largest number to the fewest.³ For the vast majority of these relics, no contextual information exists. Where there is, it is mentioned. Basic information on the 46 plaque-relics is summarized in Table 3.1.

- Anta 1 do Paço de Aragão, Évora (n=4). From this megalithic tomb, according to the notes of its excavator Manuel Heleno and reported by Gonçalves (*et al.* 2003), a total of 324 plaques and plaque fragments were found from the chamber, corridor, and enclosing tumulus. The site was, indeed, exceptionally rich in artefacts, as Heleno also records having found 1,876 arrowheads, 134 blades and bladelets, 181 polished stone axes, 456 beads, 30 complete ceramic vessels, as well as other stone artefacts and ceramic fragments. Four plaque-relics were recovered from Aragão (Figure 3.1a). They are some of the smallest place-relics known, measuring between 3–6cm in height; the average height of the plaque-relics as a group is 9cm. Two plaque-relics from this site were found in the tumulus and two have no contextual information. The recovery of at least two of the plaques from the tumulus suggests that they were associated with relatively late (or secondary) burials. All four plaque-relics from Paço are perforated, they are all roughly trapezoidal in form, and three were made from the top section of a Classic plaque. To date, and based on available published materials, this site appears to be the site with the largest number of plaque-relics known in Iberia.
- Escoural, Évora (n=3). This site, a tholos located next to the important Palaeolithic-Neolithic cave site of the same name, was discovered in 1964 (Santos and Ferreira 1969) and is associated with the largest number of plaques known: 102 complete plaques and 65 fragments. Gonçalves and the staff of the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia are in the process of refitting and regluing these fragments (Gonçalves *et al.* 2003: 227). Although being carried out, no doubt, with the best intentions of determining the true number of the plaques from the site, this restoration also unfortunately complicates any taphonomic determinations to be done on the fragments and no examination of the breaks to assess their aetiology. These three plaque-relics from Escoural (Figure 3.1b) are trapezoidal or rectangular in form (like the plaques themselves), all are perforated, two were made from the top section of Classic plaques, and they are average in height, ranging from 6–10cm. One of these relics appears to have been engraved on the reverse, which could well have been around the time of its modification.

ESPRIT #	Museum/Cat. #	Site name	District	Ht (cm)	Form	Parent Type	Design/s	Plaque part	Perfs
462		Alcanena	Santarém	6	trapezoid	unknown	triangle, half-circle triangle, filled horizontal band	top?	1
359	MNA/8233	Alcôçulo 3	Portalegre	9.5	rectangle	Classic?	triangle	base	1
1329	MNA/984.290.2	Anta 1 do Paço de Araújo	Evora	5.83	trapezoid	Classic	triangle, strap	top	1
1331	MNA/984.292.43	Anta 1 do Paço de Araújo	Evora	4.13	trapezoid	Classic	strap	top	1
1332	MN/984.292.111	Anta 1 do Paço de Araújo	Evora	2.99	trapezoid	Classic	strap, collar	top	1
1330	MNA/984.290.8	Anta 1 do Paço de Araújo	Evora	3.08	rectangle	unknown	vertical band? strap?	unknown	1
1069	ME/6372(NP)	Anta Grande de Zambujeiro	Evora	5.9	rectangle	unknown	triangle, inverted triangle	unknown	0
1325	ME3669	Anta Grande de Zambujeiro	Evora	9.05	rectangle	unknown	zigzag?, triangle?	unknown	1
294	MNA/12395	Antões 3	Evora	4	triangle	unknown	strap?	unknown	1
959	MNA/12580	Brissos 6	Evora	12	trapezoid	Classic	triangle, mini-triangle, strap	base	1
975	MNA/12595	Brissos 6	Evora	11.3	rectangle	unknown	chevron	base	0
240	MPD	Canvão	Evora	7.5	irregular	unknown	band, zigzag	unknown	1
1064	MSG/CMR389	Casa da Moura	Leiria	11.2	rectangle	unknown	triangle, empty horizontal band	base	2
977	MNA/12908	Cavaleiros 1	Portalegre	13	rectangle	unknown	zigzag	base	0
877	MNA/7552	Comenda da Igreja	Evora	12	trapezoid	Classic	triangle	top, base	1
149	MNA/795	Comenda da Igreja	Evora	9	trapezoid	Classic	band, checkerboard	base	1
550	MMLT	Cova da Moura	Lisboa	5	triangle	unknown	chevron	unknown	2
1310	MAS/4926	Cueva de la Mora	Huelva	12.7	trapezoid	Classic	triangle, strap, collar	top	1
1306	MAS/4925	Cueva de la Mora	Huelva	10.3	trapezoid	unknown	triangle	base	1
594	MNA/THE1.79.134	Escoural	Evora	6	trapezoid	Classic	triangle, inverted V	top, base	1
583	MNA/THE2003.68.01	Escoural	Evora	9.79	rectangle	Classic	strap	top	1
1328	MNA/THE1.79.27	Escoural	Evora	9.8	trapezoid	unknown	triangle, filled horizontal band	base?	1
226	MSG/SFB 17	Folha das Barradas	Lisboa	14.5	rectangle	unknown	irregular zigzag	unknown	1
622	MNA/12980	Herdade da Ordem I	Portalegre	10	trapezoid	Classic	triangle, strap	top, base	2
1128	Dominguez Coll.	La Pijotilla 2	Badajoz		rectangle	Classic	lying chevron?, band, strap, collar	top	0
1135	Dominguez Coll.	La Pijotilla 2	Badajoz		ovoid	unknown	strap?	unknown	0
1138	Dominguez Coll.	La Pijotilla 2	Badajoz		circular	unknown	triangle	unknown	0
538	MABP/3319	La Pizarrilla	Badajoz	8.9	rectangle	Classic?	strap?	top	1
773	MNAES	Lapa do Bugio	Setúbal	10	trapezoid	unknown	zigzag	base?	2
1323	ME5230(NP)	Mitra	Evora	3.2	trapezoid	unknown	triangle	unknown	1
1324	ME5231(NP)	Mitra	Evora	5.75	rectangle	unknown	triangle	unknown	2
186	MSG/178.21, Ab-21	Monte Abraão	Lisboa	8.8	rectangle	unknown	triangle, filled+empty horizontal band	unknown	1
1095		Monte da Velha 2	Beja	6.1	triangle	unknown	triangle	unknown	2
77	MNA/21875	Olival da Pega 1	Evora	12	trapezoid	Transitional	chevron	top, base	1
95	MNA	Olival da Pega 1	Evora	10	trapezoid	unknown	triangle	unknown	1
223	MNA	Palmela	Setúbal	7.5	rectangle	unknown	?	unknown	1
659	ERA	Perdigões	Evora	5	trapezoid	unknown	strap?	top?	0
1300	MSG	Popo Velho	Lisboa		rectangle	unknown	triangle	unknown	0
1305	MSG	Popo Velho	Lisboa		trapezoid	unknown	chevron	unknown	0
242	MNA	Ribeira de Odivelas	Beja	12.3	ovoid	unknown	band, zigzag	unknown	1
1162	MNA/6950-SPII514	S. Paulo 2	Setúbal	5.6	trapezoid	Transitional	chevron	top	1
842	H.B-5	Santa Margarida 3	Evora	12.4	trapezoid	Classic	triangle, strap, collar	top, base	1
634	MMCV	Tapaço da Relva	Portalegre	12	rectangle	unknown	zigzag	unknown	1
644		Tumulus de Jerónimo	Evora	6.5	rectangle	Style Variant?	triangle	unknown	1
1000	MNA/985.1.29	Vale de Rodrigo 1	Evora	10	trapezoid	unknown	triangle	base	0
406	MAN	Vega do Peso	Badajoz	13.5	rectangle	unknown	zigzag	base?	0

Table 3.1. Catalogue of plaque-relics.

- Anta Grande de Zambujeiro, Évora (n= 2). This truly monumental megalith – with its 6 m high orthostats – has never been fully published and most of its abundant finds have no precise provenance (Gonçalves *et al.* 2003). There are 32 plaques from this site in ESPRIT, although Gonçalves has indicated that there are over 100 (Gonçalves 2006). The two plaque-relics from the site (Figure 3.1c) are rectangular in form, one is perforated (the other is not), and both appear to be sections from the body of a plaque (rather than the top, as those from Escoural and Paço). They are average in size, at 6cm and 9cm.
- Brissos 6, Évora (n=2). The site of Brissos 6 is one of a small cluster of seven megalithic tombs (Brissos 1–7). While the Leisners published most of the 37 plaques from this site (Leisner and Leisner 1959: 111–113), the two plaque-relics in ESPRIT (Figure 3.1d) are unpublished and were studied by the author in the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia in 2003 where they were housed. They are trapezoidal and rectangular, relatively large (11cm and 12cm in height), and one is perforated. One of the relics was made from a Classic plaque, and one was made from an indeterminate type.
- Comenda da Igreja, Évora (n=2). This is another extremely large megalithic site that was also found with a particularly large number of plaques (95 in ESPRIT). Two plaque relics were found at the site: one was published (Leisner and Leisner 1959: Tafel 27, 1, 78) and one was previously unpublished and studied by the

author in the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia in 2003 (Figure 3.1e). These two trapezoidal plaque-relics were both made from Classic plaques – one from the top section, one from the base. Both are perforated – one with, most likely, an old perforation (from its use as a plaque), the other with a ‘new’ one in its use as a relic (as the perforation goes through the horizontal bands separating the top and base of a Classic plaque). They are 9 and 12cm in height. One of these was re-engraved on its reverse in a different style and perhaps using a different kind of implement from the obverse. The engraving on the reverse was most likely done after the plaque had been fragmented, given that the design fits neatly within the edges of the object.

- Mitra, Évora (n=2). The two plaque-relics from the dolmens of Mitra were illustrated and described by Gonçalves *et al.* 2003 (Figure 3.1f). They are small (3 and 6cm), both were perforated with new perforations (likely at the time the plaque fragment was shaped), and both were fashioned from what appears to be the body of a plaque (at least no diagnostic features of the top or bottom of a plaque are apparent). They are trapezoidal and rectangular in form.
- Olival da Pega 1, Évora (n=2). This large and artefactually rich megalithic tomb housed 134 plaques and plaque fragments. The two plaque-relics from the site are relatively large (10 and 12cm) and both are perforated; one was made from a Transitional plaque and the other from an indeterminate type (Figure 3.1g). Both are trapezoidal in form.
- Carvão, Évora (n=1). The plaque-relic from this megalith is irregularly shaped, 7.5cm in height, and appears to have been made from the body of a Classic plaque, with was perforated at the time of its modification (Leisner and Leisner 1959: Tafel 34, 6, 4) (Figure 3.1h). A total of four plaques, of which this relic was one, were found at the site.
- Antões 3, Évora (n=1). Two plaques were found at this megalith, of which one was a plaque-relic (Figure 3.1i). It is perforated, small (4cm), and triangular in shape (which is unusual), and it was made from an indeterminate part of an indeterminate plaque type.
- Perdigões, Évora (n=1). This plaque-relic was found in an upper (and disturbed) level of the chamber of the megalith (UE-câmara, Monumento Funerário 1) that was closely associated with the settlement of Perdigões (Lago *et al.* 1998: Fig. 9) (Figure 3.1j). Nine other plaques and plaque fragments were also found at the site. The plaque-relic is small (5cm), trapezoidal, and unperforated, and appears to have been made from the top part of a Classic plaque (straps are suggested).
- Santa Margarida 3, Évora (n=1). Twenty-one plaques and fragments were discovered at this megalithic burial site. Of these, one was a plaque-relic, and it was found among other plaques in the corridor of the tomb (Gonçalves 2003: 59) (Figure 3.1k). It is large (12.4cm) and perforated (though the perforation was likely from the original plaque), and it was made from the top section of a Classic plaque. It has engraving on its obverse, which was likely carried out around the time or after it was reshaped.
- Tumulus de Jeromigo, Évora (n=1). Four plaques were found at this tumulus burial; one of which was a plaque-relic (Figure 3.1l). It is a small (6.5cm), rectangular, and perforated relic made from a stylistically unusual type of plaque, though it is suggestive of a Classic plaque (with a horizontal line separating the top from the base). The three other plaques from the site are also of unusual types, which may suggest a late date for the site and for the plaque-relic itself.

- Vale de Rodrigo 1, Évora (n=1). Eighteen plaques and fragments were recovered from this tholos burial, of which one was a plaque-relic (Figure 3.1m). This is an interesting plaque-relic, as it seems to be a plaque-relic that had not been completed. The piece is about 10cm in height, irregularly shaped, with evidence of sharp cutting/grooving and no perforation. It appears to be the base of a plaque engraved with triangle motifs. This piece illustrates that the creation of relics did not necessarily involve the scavenging of previously fragmented plaques (in a kind of opportunistic crafting) but could be the result of a more deliberate refashioning of a plaque.
- La Pijotilla, Badajoz (n=3). Fourteen plaques were found in this megalithic burial, three of which are plaque-relics (Figure 3.1n). All three are all unperforated and, interestingly, more rounded in shape than the typical plaque-relic; one is ovoid and one is circular. All the plaque-relics were surface finds.
- La Pizarilla, Badajoz (n=1). Of the six plaques from this megalithic site, one is a plaque-relic (Figure 3.1o). It is 9cm, rectangular, perforated, and may have been made from the top of a Classic plaque.
- Vega del Peso, Badajoz (n=1). From this megalithic burial, three plaques were found, one of which was a plaque-relic (Figure 3.1p). It is unusually large (13.5cm), unperforated, and was made from an indeterminate type of plaque decorated with zigzags.
- Cova da Moura, Lisboa (n=1). The relic from this cave (Figure 3.1q), where a total of 22 plaques and fragments were found, is unusual in its shape – with its sharply triangular form – and in its two perforations on the wider edge (rather than along the narrower edge, which is standard when there is a perforation). It is a small (5cm) piece made from a plaque with chevrons.
- Folha das Barradas, Lisboa (n=1). The plaque-relic from this rock-cut tomb is, like the relic from Cova da Moura, unusual in its shape – an elongated rectangle – and unusual in its size – 14.5cm (Figure 3.1r). It is perforated and made from an indeterminate plaque type. It also appears to be the only plaque found at the site.
- Monte Abraão, Lisboa (n=1). Two plaques were found at this megalithic burial, one of which is a plaque-relic (Figure 3.1s). It is average in size – 8.8cm, rectangular, and has one perforation.
- Poço Velho, Lisboa (n=2). A total of six plaques were found at this site, two of which were relics (Figure 3.1t). Both were unperforated, though one may be unfinished, as it appears to be retouched around its edges but not polished. The size of these plaques is not known, and the original plaque types from which they were made unknown.
- Alcogulo 3, Portalegre (n=1). Two plaques were found at this megalithic burial, one of which is a plaque-relic (Figure 3.1u). It is perforated, 9.5cm in height, and appears to have been fashioned from the base of a Classic plaque.
- Cavaleiros 1, Portalegre (n=1). From this megalithic site, seven plaques were found, one of which was a plaque-relic (Figure 3.1v). This large (13cm) relic is rectangular, unperforated, and, indeed, may be unfinished given some of its rough edges. It was made from an indeterminate plaque type.
- Herdade da Ordem 1, Portalegre (n=1). The plaque-relic from this megalith, where a total of 20 plaques were found, is 10cm, has two perforations, and was fashioned from the top of a Classic triangle plaque (Figure 3.1w).
- Tapadão da Relva, Portalegre (n=1). Seven plaques were found in this megalithic

burial, one of which was a plaque-relic (Figure 3.1x). It is relatively large (13cm), it has one perforation and it was made from an indeterminate plaque type with zigzag motifs.

- Lapa do Bugio, Setúbal (n=1). Seventy plaques and fragments were found in this cave site. From Sepultura 10, one 10cm relic was found, which is trapezoidal and was made from an indeterminate plaque type with zigzags (Figure 3.1y).
- Palmela, Setúbal (n=1). From one of the rock-cut tombs at this site, where a total of 15 plaques and fragments were recovered, one rectangular-shaped relic, 7.5cm in size, was found (Figure 3.1z). It was fashioned from an indeterminate plaque type with triangle motifs.
- S. Paulo 2, Setúbal (n=1). One relic was found in this rock-cut tomb, where a total of five plaques and fragments were found (Figure 3.1aa). It is small (5.6cm), perforated with one hole, trapezoidal, and was fashioned from the top of a Transitional chevron plaque.
- Monta da Velha 2, Beja (n=1). Two plaques were found at this megalithic burial, one of which was a small (6cm) relic (Figure 3.1bb). It is sharply triangular, like the plaque from Cova da Moura and, like the plaque from Cova da Moura, is unusual in that it has two perforations along its wider edge. It was fashioned from an indeterminate plaque type with triangle motifs. It was recovered in association with a ceramic vase and flint blades, and in a context that was late in the site's sequence.
- Ribeira de Odivelas, Beja (n=1). Two plaques were found at this site, of which one was an ovoid shaped relic (Figure 3.1cc). It is relatively large (12.3cm), perforated (with a new perforation), and made from an indeterminate type plaque with zigzags.
- Cueva de la Mora, Huelva (n=2). From this cave site, excavated in 1922, two large (10 and 13cm high) plaque-relics were recovered out of a total of 16 plaques (Figure 3.1dd). One is rectangular in form, perforated, and appears to have been fashioned from the base of a Classic triangle plaque. The second is trapezoidal, perforated, and made from the top of a Classic triangle plaque. Its perforation may be from its original plaque.
- Alcanena, Santarém (n=1). From this cave site, four plaques were found, of which one was a small (6cm) trapezoidal plaque-relic (Figure 3.1ee) that was engraved on both sides, with one (probably original) perforation. Its type is ambiguous, but it appears one side was a Transitional plaque with vaguely ocular (two crescents) motifs and the reverse is indeterminate but with triangles.
- Casa da Moura, Leiria (n=1). From this cave site, 19 plaques were recovered, of which one was a plaque-relic (Figure 3.1ff). It is 11cm in height, rectangular in shape, and with two perforations. This piece is unpublished and was studied by the author at the Museu dos Serviços Geológicos in 2003. That this is a relic can be debated, given its relatively large size, but because its triangular motifs appear to be truncated by the edges of the plaque and its perforations cut through the engraved motifs strongly it appears to be a modified relic from a once larger plaque.

Patterns and variation

1. Frequency

Out of the approximately 1330 plaques and fragments in ESPRIT, 46 – or 3.5% – are plaque-relics. This is not a large percentage, and it is comparable to the frequency of the rarest of the formal plaque types, such as the Strappy (2%), Biomorph Simple (4%), and

Biomorph Whiskered plaques (2%). Plaque-relics have been found at 32 of the 240 sites (13%) where plaques have been found.

Given that the collective tombs of Neolithic Iberia were regularly re-entered for the burial of new individuals, it was physically possible – at least for certain individuals – to regularly retrieve plaques or plaque fragments and modify them as relics. That this did not take place more often suggests that –

- 1)

2)

3)

4)
- the desire or need to create relics was a relatively infrequent occurrence, or ritual sanctions were in place at the time of the burials’ use, which were most often followed, that constrained the plaques’ removal and modification, or they were hidden from view in corpse wrappings or clothing, or they were removed and were deposited in contexts yet to be discovered.

An examination of the geographic distribution of the plaque-relics provides some further insights.

2. Geographic Distribution

In general, plaque-relics are found wherever plaques are found (Figures 3.4 and 3.5) and those regions with the highest frequency of plaques also have the highest frequency of plaque-relics. The district of Évora has the largest proportion of plaques as well as plaque-relics. With around 50% of the plaque-relics found there, Évora can viewed as a core area for relics (as well as for the plaques themselves). In a second tier of regions, contributing between 7–12% of the plaque-relics, are the districts of Lisboa, Badajoz, Portalegre, and Setúbal. The districts of Beja, Huelva, Santarém, and Leiria constitute a third tier, with 1–4% of the plaque-relics known. Those districts with plaques but no plaque relics (at least none published) are: Faro, Cáceres, Castelo Branco, Salamanca, and Granada.

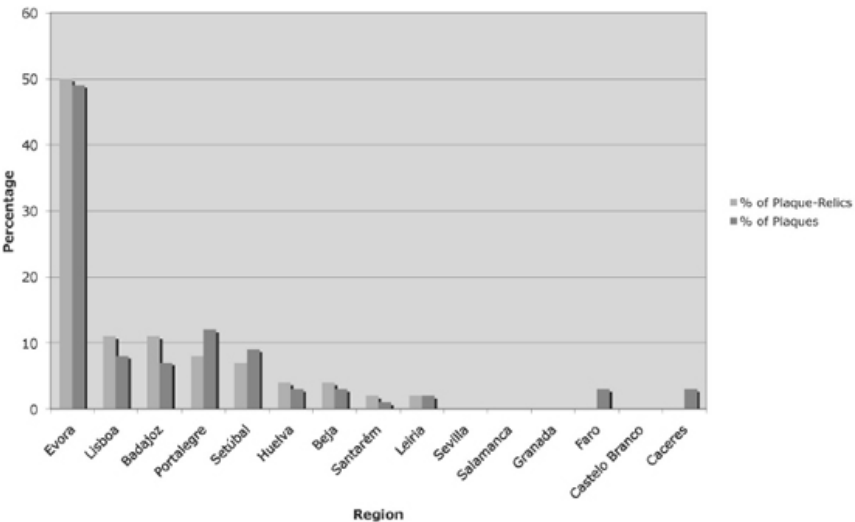


Figure 3.4. Frequency of plaques and plaque-relics, by district/province.



Figure 3.5. Distribution of plaque-relics. Darkness of shading reflects relative frequency of plaque-relics; stippled areas have plaques but no plaque-relics.

Because of the small differences between the proportion of plaques and plaque-relics contributed by each region, it is probably best not to over-interpret the significance of these differences. If we knew we had a complete database and were working with actual numbers of plaques, rather than numbers for plaques and fragments as I am currently doing, it would be intriguing to conduct statistical analyses to compare, by region, the different proportions of plaques and plaque-relics. One might hypothesize that those areas in which plaque-relics were proportionally higher than the frequency of plaques were areas of more intense social competition or areas in which the need to draw from the memories of the dead for political legitimation were most intense. There may also be cultural differences in the ritual sanctions associated with the plaques in these areas that might account for these differences. Broadly speaking, however, it does not appear that there is a major difference between the distribution of the plaques and the plaque-relics. The production of relics was not isolated to a region, which would suggest a distinctive social landscape or ritual tradition. The existence of local traditions is more consistent with the distribution of some of the plaque types, such as the Strappy and Biomorph Simple plaques, as I have argued in previous work (Lillios 2008).

3. Context

Lamentably the precise contexts in which the majority of the plaque-relics, like the plaques, were deposited are poorly known and there are no radiocarbon dates of datable material in close association with any of the plaque-relics. In the few cases in which the excavators recorded their original context, it appears that the relics date to a late phase in the biography of the site's use. In one case, a plaque-relic was found in the tumulus of a megalithic site

(Anta 1 do Paço), where it was deposited (though not necessarily produced). The excavators of Mont'a da Velha 2 noted that the relic from that site was found in a context late in the site's sequence.

4. Biographies

Even before they were fashioned into relics, the plaques had a biography, beginning with the quarrying of their raw material, which was generally slate. Prior to its use as the raw material for the engraved plaques, slate was occasionally used to make beads (Pascual Benito 1998); but other than this, slate seems not to have had a 'deep' symbolic history. The region in which slate was found, however, did. The vast majority of the plaques have been found in the slate rich zone of the Alentejo, known geologically as the Ossa-Morena Zone of the Southwest Iberian Massif. Here, in addition to slate, were quarried other rocks with long histories of use in megalithic construction and in the fashioning of polished stone tools, such as granite and amphibolite. The Alentejo is also populated by hundreds of menhirs, stone circles, and megalithic tombs, and, of course, the thousands of dead individuals housed within them, some of whom predate the plaques and relics. To understand the potency of the plaques and the relics, we must be attentive to their association with the symbolically dense landscape from which they derived.

After slabs of slate were quarried, they were roughed out, flaked, polished, engraved and – sometimes – perforated (Lillios 2008: Chapter 2). Experiments conducted by Alexander Woods on the wear created by suspending and wearing a plaque (using replicas) suggest that the plaques – whose perforations generally (though not always) have no wear at all – were made for the deceased and were not worn by living and moving individuals (Woods and Lillios 2006). Even when an experimental plaque was hung from the ceiling of my laboratory for one month, some wear was produced. Therefore, it appears that the plaques were buried for some time with a deceased individual. We can state with greater assurance that, at some point in some plaques' lives, some individuals made the decision to retrieve them, modify their size and form by polishing their edges to produce a relatively small object, and sometimes perforate them with one or two holes. In this section, I will explore the biographies of these relics as a window into mnemonic practices of the Neolithic, specifically by examining whether there is significant patterning or variability in the original plaque types or their decorative motifs, and the size and form of the relics.

Were certain plaque types or plaques with certain design motifs more likely to be made into relics than others? This might indicate something about the original meaning of the types or designs or something about the socio-political factors instigating the production of these relics. If certain plaque types or motifs were selected to be transformed as relics, and if the plaques as a whole were heraldic in function, then a significant preference for one type or one design might signify a practice specific to a lineage or the targeting of a particular lineage (if relic-making were carried out in acts of hostility).

As Table 3.2 illustrates, the majority of the plaques (29/46, 63%) cannot be identified to a particular plaque type. Of those that can be identified to a type, the overwhelming majority of relics were produced on Classic plaques (14/17, 82%). Others could have been made on other types but no clear evidence is preserved for us. How do these proportions compare to the proportions of the plaques themselves? Among the plaques themselves, 70% are Classics, and the next most common types are the Transitional plaques, at 12%. With such small totals, it is difficult to interpret these differences, but – roughly speaking, the relative percentages of Classic and Transitional plaques are matched in the relics. None are clearly made from Biomorphic or Strappy plaques – though there is one with half-moons,

which is evocative of the Biomorph Simple plaques.

‘Parent’ Plaque Type (n=46)

Unknown	29
Classic	14
Transitional	2
Style Variant	1

Table 3.2. ‘Parent’ plaque types of plaque-relics.

Decorative Motif (n=46)

triangle	23
straps	14
zigzag	8
filled horizontal band	7
chevron	6
empty horizontal band	2
collar	2
half-circle	1
checkerboard	1
inverted V	1
no motif	1

Table 3.3. Decorative motifs on plaque-relics.

Part of Plaque Preserved (n=46)

Indeterminate	20
Base	11
Top	10
Top and Base	5

Table 3.4. Part of ‘parent’ plaque preserved on plaque-relics.

In contrast to the rarity of the original plaque type preserved in the relic, virtually all relics (with the exception of one), display design motifs (Table 3.3). However, like the plaque types, the proportional frequency of the motifs represented on the plaque-relics roughly corresponds with their appearance on the plaques themselves. Triangles are the most common motif on the plaques, and they appear with the greatest frequency in the relics; zigzags and chevrons are less common in both media, and the checkerboard motif is one of the rarest in both the plaques and relics. Where it is possible to determine the part of the plaque from which the relic was made, there does not appear to have been a preference as to which part of the plaque was made into a relic (Table 3.4).

If we assume that the motifs referenced a group affiliation, this patterning in the parts preserved of the relics suggests that the creation of relics was not ‘targeted’ at any one identity or social group. It is possible that the individual who made the relic knew the original type, but preserving it was not prioritized, as it was meant for only their use. This evokes the 19th century European practice of keeping the locks of hair of deceased loved ones. Certainly the locks would have had little or no recognizable association with the individual from which they came, other than their colour, but to the owner of the relic its intimate materiality could be a powerful mnemonic (Hallam and Hockey 2001; Pointon 1999).

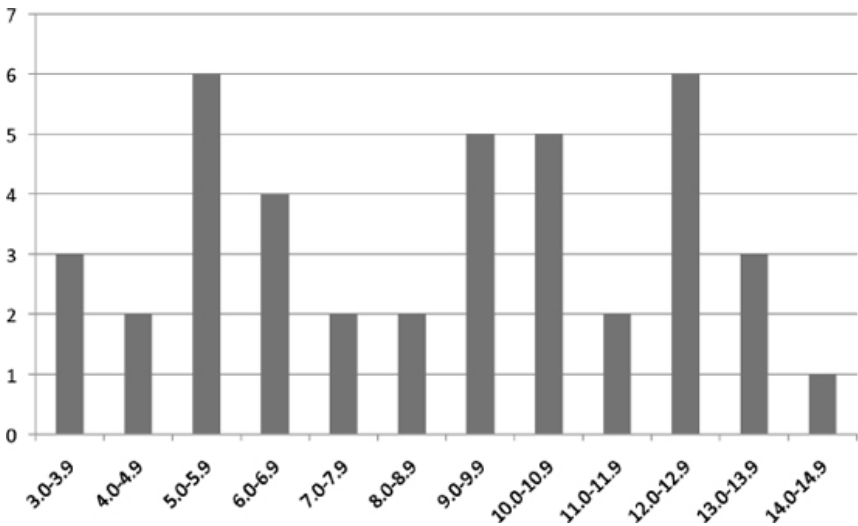


Figure 3.6. Size of plaque-relics.

When the sizes of the plaque-relics are compared, a wide range is represented – and indeed a kind of trimodal distribution is evident (Figure 3.6). And, while there does not seem to be a regional patterning in the size of plaque-relics, there are some slight suggestions that, by site, there are some patterns. A number of the sites have quite large relics – while others have quite small relics. The two relics from Cueva de la Mora, for example, are both on the large end of the scale and the four plaques from Paço are all quite small; though, even at one site, there can be large and small relics. Again, with the occurrence of the plaques being so relatively infrequent, these figures cannot be over-interpreted. However, by taking these variables into account in other relics, we might begin to grasp something of the organization of production of relics (*i.e.*, do they appear to be a

standardized, or a highly idiosyncratic and individualized process?). This is, indeed one major challenge of studying relics in contrast to major craft industries: the numbers will never satisfy statisticians.

While the majority of the relics were perforated with one or two holes (35/46, 76%), a significant number (11/46, 24%) had no perforations (Table 3.5). And while one or two of those without perforations may not have been completed relics, most appear as finished (they have all sides polished). While it would appear, therefore, that the majority of the relics were destined to be pendants or some other suspended items, a sizable number appear not to have been designed in this way. While there is no clear regional patterning in the number of perforations, there are a few sites where all the plaque-relics have no perforations, such as Poço Velho and La Pijotilla 2. This may suggest some idiosyncratic purposes to which the relics were put that were distinctive of the population represented in the tomb. A systematic study of the wear on the perforations of the plaque-relics and of the plaques themselves would be a fruitful avenue for future research.

# Perfs	No. of plaques
1	29
0	11
2	6

Table 3.5. Number of perforations on

Form of Plaque-Relic (n=46)	
trapezoid	21
rectangle	18
triangle	3
circular/ovoid	3
irregular	1

Table 3.6. Form of plaque-relics. plaque-relics.

Finally, I wish to examine the shape into which these relics were made. The quantification of shape – or morphometrics – is clearly an idea ripe for increased application in the archaeological study of artefacts in order to assess the degree of standardization of production. Here, I use only a qualitative description of shapes. Overall, the majority of the plaques are trapezoidal or rectangular in form – just as the plaques themselves are (Table 3.6). In other words, the original forms of the plaques were replicated when the artisans/ ritual specialists created the plaque-relics. There are, however, some very unusual shaped relics. Three are strongly triangular and from sites in different regions, so we are not looking at a regional peculiarity. Another three are circular or ovoid in shape, which is also quite unusual and which does not correspond in any way to the plaques’ original form. Two of these rounded plaques were found from the same site – La Pijotilla 2, in Badajoz – and both of these were unperforated. The third piece was perforated and found at Ribeira de

Odivelas, in Beja. That these three were all found in burials outside the core area of Évora may reflect some outlier traditions of relic-making at work. The strongest case of an extreme periphery, as far as the plaques are concerned, may be the two relics from La Pijotilla – which are both unperforated and circular in shape. This evidence suggests that, unlike the production of the plaques themselves, the production of plaque-relics appears to have been a relatively decentralised and individualistic practice.



Figure 3.7. Other relics of Neolithic Iberia. a. Baculum-relic from Barrocal das Freiras 3. Ht. 19.5cm, Courtesy of the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia. Catalogue 989.24.2, b. Baculum from Brissos 6. Ht. 33cm. Housed in Museu Nacional de Arqueologia. Catalogue 995.45.66. (Leisner and Leisner 1959: Tafel 22, 1, 34), c. Cranial disk from Lapa do Bugio (Cardoso 1992: Plate 18, no. 7).

Other relics in Neolithic Iberia

In addition to the fashioning of plaques into relics, Neolithic peoples of the Peninsula also modified other objects closely associated with the dead and exclusively found in burial contexts. There is, for example, a perforated pendant modified from a slate baculum from the megalithic site of Barrocal das Freiras 3, in Evora (Figure 3.7a). The bacula are large (40–50cm) crook-shaped objects made of slate and engraved with the same motifs found on the plaques (Figure 3.7b). Approximately 50 bacula have been found in tombs throughout the south-western corner of the Peninsula and in association with plaques. It is likely that the bacula and the plaques are, therefore, roughly contemporary. This baculum-relic from Barrocal das Freiras 3 is unpublished and housed at the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia,

where I was able to study it in 2003. There is no precise contextual information for it, although at least one engraved plaque was also found at the site, which is also housed at the MNA. Bacula-relics appear to be rare, although there are a number of bacula-amulets (miniature baculae, which were perforated) similarly found in burial contexts. In other words, both bacula and plaques were occasionally made as miniatures ('amulets') and their fragments transformed into relics.

The biography of objects of Neolithic Iberia, such as plaques and bacula, was occasionally parallel to the biography of human bones, specifically crania. Cranial discs, or rounded pieces of the cranium which were sometimes perforated, have been found at Neolithic burial sites throughout southern Iberia. Specifically, they were recovered at Lapa do Bugio (Figure 7c) (Cardoso 1992: Plate 18, no. 7), Olival da Pega 1 and 2 (Gonçalves 1999: 73, 96), and at Anta da Capela (Leisner and Leisner 1959: Tafel 15, 54).⁴ That some 'things' such as bacula and plaques as well as 'people' underwent parallel lives in Neolithic Iberia suggests that, under certain circumstances, the boundaries between objects and people were rather fluid. The similar shape of the rounded plaque-relics at La Pijotilla and the rounded cranial disks may also suggest a kind of symbolic equivalence between bodies and objects in certain contexts.

Discussion

The production of relics made from objects associated with funerary rituals as well as human crania was a component of Neolithic social practice throughout the southern half of the Iberian Peninsula. It appears to have been a relatively infrequent act, but it was widespread. It cannot be considered a regular phenomenon, nor an idiosyncratic behaviour of an isolated or peripheral community. The extended biographies of the slate plaques, in the form of the plaque-relics, as well as human remains reflect a need by Neolithic peoples to engage over long periods of time with objects and bodies of their own past and to be involved with ongoing memory work (Mills and Walker 2008). A plaque of slate was the ideal medium for this memory work as it was relatively durable and, perhaps more importantly, it could be revised and edited through its engravings. Perhaps, as with the lives of people, we should not think of these objects as finished or unfinished, but rather of differential length and with different histories of interaction and engagement.

Given that Neolithic tombs were regularly re-entered for the burial of new individuals, there were many opportunities for an individual or individuals to access the plaques, as well as the remains of the dead and the other objects with which they were associated. That the plaques were not more regularly transformed into relics is, therefore, worthy of consideration. Were there taboos against their handling by the non-initiated or against their modification as pendants or relics?

The major handicap we face in interpreting these relatively rare objects is their chronology. We do not know if they were made and used at the same time that the plaques were made and used or whether they represent a later practice. If relics were contemporary with the engraved plaques, they may reflect and have served as rare displays of resistance against the normative practice of not modifying or recycling the plaques. Their creation and curation might have challenged the power of ritual specialists or craftsmen who controlled their production and/or access to burials. If, however, they were a later practice, which the sketchy contextual evidence in a few cases intimates, their creation may have been used as a way to evoke or draw on the authority of an ancestral past. A weakening of ritual control over burial grounds may also have been at play. Another consideration is that during the 3rd millennium BC increasingly powerful individuals may have emerged alongside a new

modality of distributed personhood (Gell 1998). In all scenarios, the creation of small-sized items suggests a more intimate connection to the dead, which could be held close to one's body and more easily made invisible to others.

The Neolithic communities of the Iberian Peninsula who crafted the plaques and the plaque-relics are generally understood to be hierarchical but whether they were tribal, chiefdom-like, or even state-like in nature is vigorously debated by Iberianists (Díaz-del-Río and García Sanjuán 2006). The existence of relics reflecting the occasional transformation of select objects closely associated with the dead suggests that there were rare opportunities in which individuals could manipulate the power of the dead in intimate and individualized ways. They speak to a tension between the highly standardized, public, and ritualized performance of memory in the crafting and disposal of the engraved plaques and the more individualized, intimate, and informal creation of relics. That more relics were not produced may indicate that formidable political power lay in the hands of ritual authorities who may have controlled access to the burial monuments and the manipulation of the material remains of the ancestral past. Such a valuation of ancestors suggests a social landscape in which identity and status was closely tied to genealogies, which are generally thought to characterize hereditary chiefdoms (Earle 1997).

Conclusion

The study of memory, or more precisely the study of the material traces of mnemonic practices, is emerging as a central focus of archaeological research (Bradley 2002; Hamann 2002; Jones 2007; Kuijt 2008; Mills and Walker 2008; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003; Williams 2003). From the long-term use of settlements and tombs, to the modification of monuments and stelae, to the curation of bodies and body parts, objects, and their transformation into relics, archaeologists are increasingly exploring the materialized ways that peoples of the past negotiated their own pasts in the crafting of their futures. Archaeologists, however, need to move beyond simply recognizing mnemonic practices in isolated cases but must also work to integrate and situate their study of mnemonics within regional, comparative, and evolutionary frameworks. That relics were made from objects and human bodies in a range of cultural and social contexts, such as Buddhist Asia (Strong 2004; Trainor 1997) and Christian Europe (Geary 1991), as well as prehistory, suggests that there exists a rich intellectual terrain in which archaeologists, anthropologists, and scholars of religion might undertake such comparative analyses. Memory can be a political resource and memory-practices are often strategic in nature. If, as Milan Kundera (1996) wrote, "The struggle of people against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting," then the study of relics can provide us with rare insights into that struggle.

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Notes

- 1 I distinguish plaque-*relics* and bacula-*relics*, which were crafted from larger and more complete plaques and bacula (crook-shaped objects, made of slate and engraved with similar motives as the plaques), from plaque and bacula *amulets*, which are miniature versions of plaques and bacula (and also often perforated). In this paper, I will focus exclusively on the relics, although a paper specifically devoted to these amulets, as Skeates does for axes in prehistoric Malta (Skeates 2002), would be an important contribution to the study of visual culture in Neolithic Iberia. Cranial discs, which I discuss later in the paper, are circular sections of human crania, which may have been produced in trepanation.
- 2 Archaeologists are, however, increasing working with AMS dating series and carefully excavated contexts to ‘discover’ the presence of heirlooms and curated remains in their sites; see, for example, the evidence for curated cattle bones, including skulls, in a ditch at Stonehenge (Bayliss *et al.* 1997: 48) and a Remedello axe in a later Early Bronze Age burial at Peri, Italy (Valzolgher and Quarta 2009).
- 3 Portuguese districts and Spanish provinces are roughly similar in size and, therefore, I will use these administrative units for purposes of geographic comparison in this paper.
- 4 Interestingly, they were not found in association with trepanned skulls – which have been found at other Neolithic sites in Iberia, namely Casa da Moura, Furninha (Cardoso 2002: 218; Delgado 1880), and Pedrinha (Gama and Cunha 2003), in Portugal and Ciempozuelos (Liesau von Lettow-Vorbeck and Pastor Abascal 2003) and Cueva de la Mora, in Spain (Guijo Mauri *et al.* 2000).

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The art of memory: Personal ornaments in Copper Age South-East Italy

Robin Skeates

This chapter explores how body ornaments might have been involved in a social process of constructing and transforming memories during the fourth and third millennia BC in South-East Italy: a time of growing socio-economic instability and competition in which appearances and memories mattered. It is argued that ornaments may have served as thought-provoking 'mnemonic devices', whose appearance and feel stimulated memories and facilitated their reinvention. Various strategies may have been employed in this process, including: reproduction and citation; association and displacement; selection, collection and ordering; display, inspection and representation; and distancing.

Introduction: ornaments and memory

Body ornaments are emotive and memorable cultural forms, which are often regarded as symbolically and socially significant. Combining a biographical approach to prehistoric artefacts with recent thinking about objects and memory (e.g. Appadurai ed. 1986; Hoskins 1998; Kavanagh 2000; Radley 1990), this paper aims to explore how such ornaments may have been involved in a social process of constructing and transforming memories in Copper Age South-East Italy.

From the Upper Palaeolithic onwards, people used a variety of ornaments in this region. Most seem ordinary, made of accessible raw materials, such as seashells, animal teeth and bones, whose physical properties were enhanced by makers using relatively simple techniques, such as perforation, carving and incision. In the Neolithic burial cave of Grotta Scaloria Alta in northern Puglia, for example, a large collection of naturally shiny and perforated tubular seashells was found in association with a human skull (Winn and Shimabuku 1980: 8–9). This may have been attached to a skull-cap, like to those found with Gravettian burials in this and other parts of Italy (Mussi 2001: 255–256). Other ornaments, however, seem more valuable, both in terms of the more restricted, exotic and visually distinctive materials used, such as greenstone and copper imported from neighbouring and more distant places and peoples, and in terms of the degree of their physical modification, using more innovative styles and laborious techniques such as polishing and drilling, to create more regular forms such as beads, rings and bracelets (cf. Perlès 2001: 221–226). They could be singular, particularly when used as personal ornaments, as in the case of the Iceman's polished white marble bead attached to a tassel of fur (Spindler 1995: 116–117). But, over time and space, these durable ornaments also accumulated dynamic and diverse associations and values, particularly during the course of their circulation through extended social networks of exchange and obligation, in which, like kula shells, they were displayed, evaluated, kept and given (cf. Campbell 1983; Malinowski 1922; Weiner 1992). During this process, they were sometimes collected and combined in sets and ultimately sacrificed in that form in burials. For example, a necklace of 62 steatite beads was found in the Copper Age burial cave of Grotta Cappuccini near Galatone (Cremonesi 1985: 58). This was

probably imported, indirectly, from northern Italy, where steatite beads were manufactured at Copper Age sites such as Pianaccia di Suvero in Liguria and also circulated via exchange networks (Barfield 1981: 44; Tiscornia 1987). But at other times groups of ornaments were deliberately displaced, refashioned, refined, recombined and re-ordered, or accidentally lost or stolen. Traces of these transformations are occasionally reflected in the signs of modification, wear, patina and ageing surviving on the surface of the ornaments, although the cumulative effect of these processes generally erased earlier signs. Miniature greenstone axe blades, for example, found at Neolithic sites such as Passo di Corvo and Via Galliani in northern Puglia, were well-travelled exotic objects that were locally transformed by being perforated and polished, perhaps to be recycled as amulets, having become too small to use as tools but too valuable to discard (Skeates 1995: 291–292).

Contextually, ornaments were closely associated with people and their bodies, and so they inevitably became entangled in their social practices and relations, and imbued with their identities, values and potencies. For example, in the representational art of Neolithic and Copper Age South-East Italy (and, indeed, northern Italy), necklaces were regularly associated with the gendered bodies of women (Holmes and Whitehouse 1998: 108–110), perhaps within a system of social reproduction in which men attempted to control both. In particular, prehistoric artists appear to have represented desirable necklaces and breasts on Later Neolithic female clay figurines found at Passo di Corvo and Canne, and on a group of Copper Age female stone statue-*stele* at Sterparo (Acanfora 1960; Radina 1992; Tinè 1983: 98–99; Tunzi Sisto 1999). As aesthetically appealing, tactile and culturally meaningful objects, ornaments complemented the human body, and enhanced its natural attractiveness and expressiveness. They also helped to secure and transform social relations between interacting people, by visibly framing and highlighting their identities, including their kin-based and community affiliations, their age-based status and their gender differences (cf. Robb 1997; Whitehouse 1992a). They would have been particularly effective in this way during special gatherings of members of normally dispersed social networks, in which bodily appearances and non-verbal communication mattered. They even extended the body's capabilities, acting as valued intermediaries when circulating between people over long distances and across generations (Finnegan 2002: 247–248). Seashells in Neolithic South-East Italy, for example, were transported over distances of up to some 50 kilometres inland from the coast, while 'greenstone' artefacts travelled much further from sources in the Alps or South-West Italy (Leighton and Dixon 1992).

Ornaments may also have served as thought-provoking 'mnemonic devices', whose appearance and feel stimulated remembering and facilitated forgetting. Such objects, more commonly labelled today as memorabilia, mementoes, souvenirs, heirlooms or heritage (*e.g.* Lillios 1999), can evoke powerful memories of the past people, relations, places, events, stories and beliefs with which they have been associated. Rosaries, generally consisting of a repetitive and orderly string of knots of beads, are a good cross-cultural example. They are generally designed as an aid to the memory and, when used in religious practices, can facilitate counting the recitation of prayers or the repetition of the names and attributes of a deity (Blackman 1918). These kinds of object can stimulate people to remember, talk about, celebrate and make sense of their past and present life experiences, both personal and collective, and they can trigger emotions ranging from pleasure and pride to nostalgia, sadness and shame. They also comprise part of the cultural process through which people selectively materialise, commemorate, project into the future and relinquish their personal and shared memories and views of the past. These memories may, in turn, play a crucial part in the formation of shared and differentiated social identities and values

in the present. Prehistoric ornaments would seem to be well-suited for use in this way, particularly as a consequence of their durability, their mobility, their expressive aesthetic properties, and their close association with various kinds of human body: living, dead and represented. In particular, through their display, exchange, inspection and evaluation, old and well-travelled ornaments may have stimulated people to remember the histories of their use and the ancestral places and people from which they came and through which they continued to be connected (cf. Whittle 2003: 102–111). In other words, they could have acted as vehicles that made people subjectively sense the presence or proximity of the Other (Chapman 1998: 109). This process may have been dominated by elders, not only because it is possible that they controlled the circulation of the most highly valued items of exchange, but also because older people's memories tend to be richer, deeper and more numerous, being interwoven with their broader life experiences (Kavanagh 2000: 104). However, memories of the ornaments' biographies and origins could also have been unintentionally clouded, lost and forgotten, particularly when objects became divorced from their original contexts of use. They could also have been intentionally hidden, distanced, reinvented and transformed, especially during ritual and artistic performances. As potentially ambiguous material symbols, they could have been mobilized with the aim of advertising and legitimating both old and new social knowledge, narratives and orders, with reference to the past. Their historic meanings could also have been disputed by different people, particularly since memories associated with personal objects can be highly individual.

Copper Age ornaments and the construction of memory

Below, I shall argue that this process of remembering, forgetting and reinvention lay at the heart of the material and visual culture of the Copper Age in South-East Italy. More specifically, I shall propose that, at a time when exchange networks were being expanded and social relations renegotiated, traditional memories carried by well-travelled ornaments may have been increasingly reworked in order to establish and legitimate the reinvented social histories of strengthened kin groups.

Compared to the Neolithic period (c. 6100–4100 BC), the archaeological record of the Final Neolithic and Copper Age (c. 4100–2300 BC) in South-East Italy is characterised by clear patterns of continuity combined with significant transformations in the procurement, manipulation and representation of visual material in general and ornaments in particular (Cinquepalmi *et al.* 2004; Skeates 2005: 75–158). Portable art-forms include a significantly expanded variety and quantity of personal ornaments, tools and pottery vessels of various materials, forms and origins. Copper Age body and clothing ornaments include: beads of bone, shell, baked clay, wood, and stone, including imported steatite, basalt and amber; pendants of stone, boars' tusk and leather; perforated seashells and teeth of deer, dog, fox and shark; copper rings; carved bone pins with decorated heads; and grooved bone toggles. A rare finely decorated bossed bone plaque, probably carved from the long bone of a sheep or goat, was also found close to a body in a rock-cut tomb at Casal Sabini near Altamura in central Puglia (Figure 4.1). It exhibits close stylistic similarities to other examples from southern Puglia, Sicily, Malta, Greece and Turkey. These objects may have been exchanged over long distances, perhaps having been originally manufactured by members of the Castelluccio culture in South-East Sicily (Holloway 1981: 11–20; Setti and Zanini 1996), and at least would have evoked distant stylistic connections. An indirect indication of the growing cultural significance of these ornaments might also be provided by the predominant style of decoration seen on contemporary fineware in South-East Italy, which changes from Neolithic geometric motifs painted over the surface of light figulina ware and comparable to

textile patterns, to Copper Age incised lines, impressed points and raised studs arranged in a more restrained fashion on dark burnished ware, particularly around the upper body of vessels, like necklaces (Figure 4.2).



Figure 4.1. Bossed bone plaque from Casal Sabini (Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Altamura).



Figure 4.2. Decorated jar from Grotta Nisco (Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Altamura).

People occasionally deposited ornaments at settlement sites, such as Cerfignano in south Puglia, where two perforated fossil shark's teeth, a bauxite nodule pendant and some boars' teeth were found (unpublished material in the Museo Provinciale 'S. Castromediano', Lecce). However, ornaments were especially deposited in the mortuary domain (Figure 4.3). Here, increasingly elaborate funerary rites focussed attention on the successive collective burial of relatives, especially adults, accompanied by larger collections of valued goods, in sealed but accessible underground chambers, ranging from traditional burial caves to novel rock-cut tombs, which were increasingly separated from contemporary settlements. The average individual appears to have been accompanied by just a couple of ornaments, two or three tools and a pottery vessel. The largest assemblage in Copper Age Puglia comes from rock-cut Tomb 3 at Laterza (Biancofiore 1967). This housed the remains of about 100 individuals and contained over 67 ornaments of a wide variety of types and origins, as well as over 100 tools of copper, stone and bone, and numerous pottery vessels. Ornaments were also occasionally represented on novel forms of 'landscape art', including groups of statue-

stele, menhirs and rock engravings, established in vantage points overlooking major fluvial and maritime communication routes (Figure 4.4). At Sterparo in northern Puglia, for example, some ‘female’ statue-menhirs were ornamented with: a series of vertical segments arranged at the top, interpreted as a head-dress; circles carved in relief, interpreted as breasts; concentric circles and spiral motifs above, between and around the ‘breasts’, interpreted as necklaces and circular ornaments; a hole further down, interpreted as a navel; and bands of horizontal incised lines towards the bottom, possibly representing a belt.

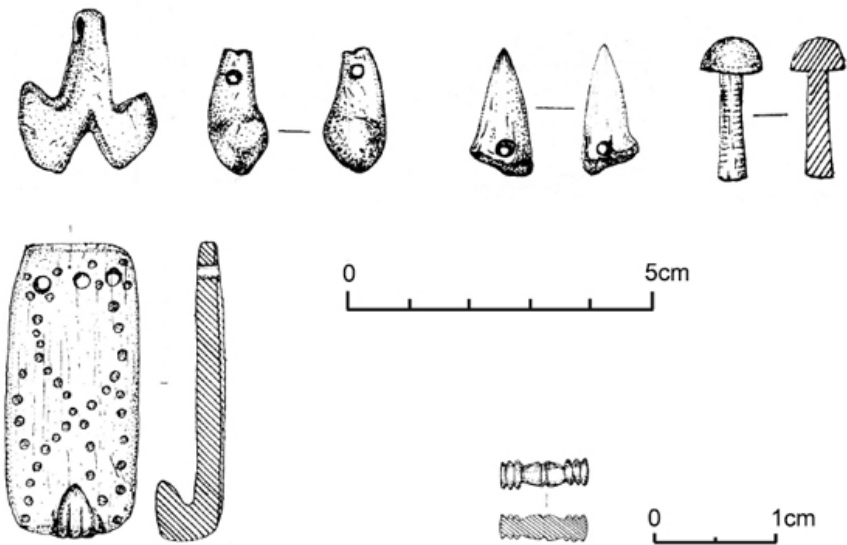


Figure 4.3. Bone ornament grave goods from Grotta Cappuccini: (1) pendant, (2) perforated deer canine, (3) perforated shark's tooth, (4) pin head, (5) toggle, (6) decorated plaque (after Ingravallo 2002).

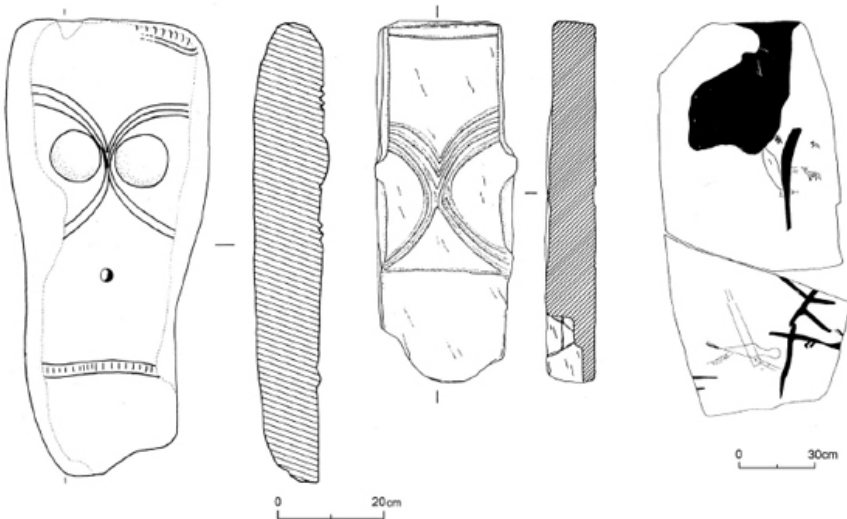


Figure 4.4. Statue-stele from Bovino (after Tunzi Sisto 1999).

In producing this visual material, local people maintained their traditions, but they also rejected and reinvented them, with increasing ambition. In particular, they conformed and contributed to more widely shared styles. They absorbed novel stylistic elements, artefacts and raw materials (including small amounts of copper) from a wider variety of sources within the Mediterranean, and they produced socially and symbolically valued artefacts and monuments that helped to establish distant social connections and local social distinctions. This contributed to the establishment of a distinctive new culture in Copper Age Puglia, integrated by a more innovative and exotic set of cultural concepts, practices and symbols compared to the Neolithic.

These transformations were arguably brought about by local people who responded to demands placed upon them by influential members of their social groups. At the same time, they participated in a more expansive and competitive social ‘tournament’, based upon the control of local resources, reciprocal gift-exchange and warfare, in which individuals may have sought to further enhance the status and prestige of themselves and their supporters, particularly through more overt visual displays. As a consequence, valuable objects of beauty were carried and worn about their bodies, and repeatedly sacrificed as votive gifts during formalised ritual performances enacted at significant places in the landscape, such as statue-stele and rock-cut tombs. These performances may have symbolised and constructed socially advantageous claims and prestigious connections: between the social bodies of living members of extended kin-groups, their ancestors, the supernatural and the landscape within which they all resided. They may also have highlighted social distinctions, between and within communities.

Body ornaments, which comprised an increasingly significant element of personal and social display, were embedded in this cultural process of identification. When caught up in the routine experiences of daily life, their significance may generally have been taken-for-granted, and their loss quickly forgotten. However, on special occasions marked by embodied ritual performances and social tension, collections of ornaments may have been displayed and represented more overtly and also concealed, as access to their powerful symbolism and biographies became increasingly contested, restricted and controlled. In particular, during the course of complex underground mortuary rituals during the Copper Age, the cyclical and selective accumulation, display and sacrifice of valued personal ornaments may have helped to construct memories of the deceased and their continued place within a network of reciprocal relations (cf. Battaglia 1992; Chapman 2000:191; Jones 2001). They may have reminded mourners of the prestige of selected newly deceased individuals, especially as members of long-established and well-connected descent-groups (cf. Malone 1996: 54; Whitehouse 1992b: 171; Whittle 1985: 286; 2003: 124–132). They may also have been used to re-shape memories of the dead, to forget them as individuals, and to establish and legitimate a myth of a collective, distant, ancestral past. Removed from circulation and effectively destroyed, the buried ornaments could also have been remembered in their absence (cf. Levy, this volume; Rowlands 1993: 146–147). Similar meanings may also have been expressed during the course of seasonal rituals performed before, during and after the erection and engraving of the upland statue-stele. These vaguely anthropomorphic standing stones may have represented the bodies of important adult men and women, possibly ancestors. As such, they could have acted as commemorative monuments or memorials, which prompted their makers and viewers to remember, reconstruct and celebrate the history of kin groups, including the material and social relationships of their deceased and living members (Keates 2000). Some were decorated by

appropriately prestigious symbols, including value-laden female necklaces, male weapons and hunted animals. As representations of absent objects, these symbols may also have triggered memories.

Conclusion: the art of memory

Prehistorians cannot easily identify 'mnemonic devices' and 'heirlooms' in the archaeological record. Indeed, attempts to separate them out as a particular category of analysis may be unwarranted (e.g. Lillios 1999; Woodward 2002), particularly in the case of well-travelled personal ornaments, which were entangled in a wide range of social practices and historic processes and imbued with diverse meanings and values. Nevertheless, the more general goal of adding memory into the interpretative mix, and of considering the processes through which memories were materialized and transformed, is surely a valid one for anthropologically-minded archaeologists.

In this paper, I have mentioned at least five sets of processes that influenced the way that personal ornaments may have stimulated memories and facilitated their reinvention. The first can be described as reproduction and citation. New ornaments were designed and produced with conscious reference to preexisting, earlier and sometimes distant, styles. The bossed bone plaque from Casal Sabini, for example, exhibits close stylistic similarities to arguably earlier examples from south-east Sicily, and to contemporary pottery decoration. The second can be defined as association and displacement. Durable ornaments, throughout their life-histories of production, use, circulation, loss and artistic representation, were subject to dynamic associations with particular people, places and things and displacements within those networks. As a consequence, the accruing and detachment of histories to and from them would have stimulated the construction and reconstruction of memories. This is likely to have been the case, for example, with the necklace of imported steatite beads ultimately deposited in the burial cave of Grotta Cappuccini. A related set of processes involved selection, collection and ordering. Various traditional and new styles of ornaments were selectively acquired, combined and rearranged, particularly when assembled together in linear series on necklaces. In this way, editorial choices would have had to be made concerning the social and aesthetic values, traditions and memories attached to and expressed by those interrelated groups of objects. These processes might be indicated, for example, by the numerous ornaments of a wide variety of types and origins deposited in Tomb 3 at Laterza. A fourth set of processes comprised display, inspection and representation. Ornaments, which had the power to represent and convey information, were actively exhibited in a wide variety of memorable performative contexts, notably during repeated social gatherings and ritual performances at prominent places in the landscape marked by stone structures and associated with ancestral commemoration. Sterparo, with its ornamented statue-menhirs, is one such site. In this way, ornaments may have helped to demonstrate and authenticate the historic narratives being performed and to evoke previous ones. At the same time, their meanings may have been manipulated through another set of processes, which can be described as distancing. High values were evidently ascribed to the materials and styles of ornaments derived from distant people, places and times. It is also clear that these objects were actively manipulated by their successive owners. They were physically reworked, refined and aged, and conceptually exoticised and sacralised. They were also taken out of circulation, by being ritually sacrificed and concealed in separated and sealed tombs, one example being the rock-cut tomb at Casal Sabini, where the bossed bone plaque was found. In these ways, attempts may have been made to control, even reinvent, the memories attached to them. Through a combination of these social processes,

then, personal ornaments may have become increasingly thought-provoking and memorable resources in Copper Age South-East Italy, helping people identify with the past but also reorder it in the present, at a time of growing socio-economic instability and competition, in which appearances and memories mattered.

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Burning matters: Memory, violence and monumentality in the British Neolithic

Andrew Jones

This paper investigates the close relationship between human memory and acts of violence. The paper focuses on the divergent discussion of memory and violence in the archaeology of Neolithic Britain, with a particular focus on the deliberate destruction of monuments by burning. My argument ranges widely across the British Isles, and discusses Neolithic houses in Ireland and Scotland and the causewayed enclosures of south-west England. It argues that previous approaches that have sought to define destructive events as the result of either violence/warfare or memory are misguided. Instead, I argue that we need to analyse these events as forms of 'memorable violence or violent remembrance'.

Introduction

Since Stuart Piggott's landmark survey of the British Neolithic (Piggott 1954), the lowland Neolithic of southern England has been assumed to exert an influence on developments in the highland zone further north. The purpose of this paper is to reverse this assumption by considering the activities associated with a class of monuments in Scotland and Ireland, timber houses, timber alignments, enclosures and cursus monuments, and consider what light these may shed on a class of monuments largely concentrated in southern England, causewayed enclosures. By considering the contrasting interpretation of these two categories of site I hope to illuminate our understanding of the nature of memory, and its relationship to violence, in both regions during the Neolithic.

Burning matters

I compare the activities at Scottish timber monuments with those at causewayed enclosures in SW England, as they appear to offer contrasting readings of similar forms of evidence. A series of monuments in Scotland exhibit evidence of deliberate destruction by fire, these include large timber 'houses', such as Claish, near Stirling and Balbridie, Aberdeenshire (Barclay *et al.* 2002), and elongated timber 'mortuary enclosures' such as Inchtuthil, Perthshire (Barclay and Maxwell 1991) and Douglasmuir, Angus (Kendrick 1995). Many of these sites have seen one or two episodes of burning and re-building, but in the case of the timber alignments at Holm, Dumfriesshire eight phases of activity, including repeated episodes of burning were defined for the monument (Thomas 2000: 86). These episodes of deliberate burning have been argued by many authors to constitute deliberate acts of memory construction (Thomas 2000, 2005; Noble 2006; Bradley 2007; Jones 2007), as the spectacular destruction of these monuments by fire seems to suggest an event which would be readily memorable.

This interpretation stands in contrast to the commonplace interpretation of the destruction of the causewayed enclosures of southern England, often by fire, as the result of internecine warfare. The violent destruction of causewayed enclosures is perhaps exemplified by the sequence at Hambledon Hill, Dorset where the fiery demise of the

Stepleton enclosure has been associated with violence (Mercer 1980, 1988). This interpretation is underlined by apparently clear evidence for violent destruction at other causewayed enclosures in SW England, such as the concentrated distribution of leaf shaped arrowheads near the entrances of Crickley Hill, Gloucestershire (Dixon 1988) and Carn Brea, Cornwall (Mercer 1981).

On the face of it the contrast between the destruction of the northern sites by fire to promote memory formation and the destruction of the southern sites by fire in episodes of violence appears to be irreconcilable; on the one hand we observe an interpretation based on an understanding of the social importance of communal memory, and on the other hand we observe an interpretation based upon the pragmatics of resource competition, and commonsense assumptions about human nature and violence. At a fundamental level there may be ways of distinguishing between these two forms of evidence; for example we might point to the evidence of arrowheads at the SW causewayed enclosures as 'incontrovertible evidence' of warfare as opposed to their absence at sites in the north. However, to search for methods for distinguishing between these categories of evidence is to misunderstand the relationship between memory formation and violence. In what follows I want to question the nature of the relationship between memory and violence in order to reconsider how we interpret Neolithic sites with evidence for destruction both in the south and the north.

The Pacified past? Warfare and violence

The contrast between the interpretation of memory formation and warfare to account for burnt monuments in the north and south of Britain appears to be an example of what Keeley (1996: 3–24) describes as a 'Pacified Past'; a past expunged of any hint of violence by our contemporary peace-loving sensibilities and perspectives. I want to begin by critically examining Keeley's perspective as it has a significant bearing on our interpretation of causewayed enclosures, following this I will rethink the connection between memory and violence, arguing for a close relationship between the two.

Lawrence Keeley (1996: 18) is particularly critical of those archaeologists who present a symbolic or social (and therefore pacified) interpretation of causewayed enclosures, at the expense of ignoring the defensive aspects of these sites. His argument is simple: that archaeologists have deliberately overlooked evidence of warfare in their efforts to present a pacified picture of the past. This argument is reasonable, however in making this argument Keeley presents a very 'cut and dried' distinction between evidence for warfare and evidence for symbolism, thereby creating a dichotomy between the two interpretations. He rightly notes that the two interpretations need not be mutually exclusive (ibid, 25) while he simultaneously invalidates his argument for warfare by drawing on evidence, which is manifestly unrelated to violent activity. For example, he argues for the defensive nature of causewayed enclosures on the basis that several causewayed camps were 'littered with bone'. Even if we accept a defensive interpretation for causewayed enclosures this is not as all-encompassing as Keeley presents. A careful analysis of the human remains from causewayed enclosures, even those such as Hambledon Hill with good evidence for destruction and violence, do not suggest that all human remains are the result of violent activity (Healey 2005: 23). Indeed it is well accepted that the human remains from causewayed enclosures are exposed prior to burial elsewhere (Thorpe 1984; Edmonds 1993; Whittle and Pollard 1998) and several of the Neolithic skeletal deposits had been formally buried (McKinley in Mercer and Healy 2008: 512); at least part of the function of causewayed enclosures is as a primary burial location. We therefore need to be cautious about replacing a supposedly peaceful symbolic interpretation with an interpretation based

wholly on the pragmatic exigencies of warfare; such an interpretative shift would overlook the multiple uses of causewayed enclosures, and the subtleties of the archaeological evidence.

Having said this I agree with Keeley's (1996) overall interpretation, that the evidence from many causewayed enclosures denotes violence. However I believe we need to be careful in distinguishing between *violence* and *warfare*; while the former term relates to destructive activity and may involve the taking of life, the latter surely relates to greater levels of organised destruction and presupposes violence between differing social groups, as Keeley discusses at length (Keeley 1996). While the evidence from causewayed enclosures certainly relates to violence, the interpretation of this evidence need not necessarily denote full-scale warfare. While the interpretation of violence can be supported by evidence from these sites, the interpretation of warfare requires a level of evidence, which is difficult to support archaeologically. In what follows I want to review the evidence for the violent destruction of causewayed enclosures, and offer an alternative that takes account of the evidence for violence, alongside the interpretation of memory formation discussed in those other contexts where we observe evidence for the burning of timber monuments.

Memory and violence

Are we required to distinguish between episodes of memory formation and episodes of violence? At first sight these appear to be quite contrasting activities, as one implies deliberate decision, while the other seems to occur at random. However the close relationship between memory and violence is amply demonstrated by the opening quotation from Toni Morrison's Nobel Prize winning novel, *Beloved*, which deals with the memories and traumas associated with the long-term violence enacted on black slaves in 19th century North America; the violent destruction of a house by fire lives long in the memory, to the extent that it appears to have a life of its own. The close association between memory and violence is also well attested by the literature on Holocaust studies (e.g. Young 1993); one of the key motifs of Holocaust studies has been the political and ethical need to remember in the face of the desire to forget (Forty 1999: 6). The long-term effects of the trauma of the Holocaust are discussed by the novelist Eva Hoffman (2005) as the aftermath of the Holocaust is felt not only by its survivors, but by the generation that came after; much as the effects of slavery determined the lives of the coming generations in Toni Morrison's novel.

The long-term mnemonic effects of trauma and violence are documented by Cappalletto (2003) who discusses the use of photographs as visual and material memories of the violent episodes that occurred in the German occupation of two Tuscan villages; the visual and material nature of these photographs makes them more powerful as aids to memory. Equally, the use of violence or pain to impress events upon memory is well documented anthropologically, especially the use of pain in life cycle rituals in Melanesia (Barth 1987; Whitehouse 1996). Here initiates are forced to undergo a series of painful treatments in order to make the ritual and its meaning memorable.

Returning to our case study, rather than viewing memory formation and violence as two opposed categories of activity during the British Neolithic we need to consider the possibility that the two activities occurred hand in hand. I suggest that rather than considering acts of violence and acts of memory formation as two distinct activities, we need to consider them as part of a continuum of greater or lesser degrees of 'violently memorable' or 'memorably violent' activities. I want to consider violent memory as a framework by which to analyse the activities associated with the fiery destruction of

monuments in northern Britain and SW England. The purpose then is not to question the violent nature of the destruction of certain sites, nor to replace this with a pacified interpretation simply labelled 'memory formation'. On the contrary, I do not wish to distinguish between these activities, rather I want to consider the memory associated with violence, and the violence associated with memory; I argue that the two are instead inextricably linked forms of activity. By considering these two aspects of prehistoric activity in concert I hope to provide greater texture and nuance to our accounts of prehistoric memory.

Violence and memory in Neolithic Scotland

The evidence for the deliberate burning of sites is plentiful in the Scottish Neolithic. A series of Early Neolithic timber monuments appear to have been destroyed by fire. These include sites such as the long timber enclosures at Douglasmuir, Angus (Kendrick 1995) and Inchtuthil, Perthshire (Barclay and Maxwell 1991). The evidence for deliberate destruction at Inchtuthil is clear, as there is evidence that the smouldering posts of the final timber enclosure were deliberately toppled into the enclosure interior. Fire had also been used to destroy the cursus monuments at Dunragit and Holywood North, Dumfriesshire (Thomas 2000, 2004). Similarly the post alignments at Bannockburn, nr. Stirling (Taverner 1987) and Holm, Dumfriesshire (Thomas 2000) were both subject to episodes of burning.

The relationship between fire and mortuary monuments is well attested. For example, the timber mortuary house beneath long barrows at Dalladies, Aberdeenshire, Slewcairn and Lochill, Dumfriesshire and Eweford and Pencraig Hill, East Lothian (MacGregor and Shearer 2002) all exhibit evidence of having been burnt down prior to the construction of the earthen mound which covers them. Fire is also used in the preparation of the ground surface prior to the construction of the round barrow and ring bank burials of Northeast Scotland, as at Boghead, Moray (Burl 1984), Midtown of Pitglassie (Shepherd 1996) and Pitnacree, Perthshire (Coles and Simpson 1965).

Fire is most spectacularly employed in the destruction of the large timber halls at Claish, nr. Stirling (Barclay *et al.* 2002), Balbridie, Aberdeenshire (Ralston 1982) and the recently excavated example at Crathes Castle, Deeside (Murray and Fraser 2005). Each of these immense timber structures measuring between 22–24m in length was deliberately destroyed (Figure 5.1). The destruction by fire of agricultural produce is also observed at Balbridie where 20, 000 barley grains were charred in the deposits at the back of the building.

The destruction of these buildings is less evidently the result of violence, however we need to bear in mind the contemporary use of fire in the cremation of the human body to foreground the essentially violent and destructive resonances of fire setting (Jones 2007: 113–114). It appears that the destruction of buildings by fire was an aspect of their controlled destruction, a cleansing process or event marking the closure of previous building and occupation events. This is most obviously underlined by the use of fire to prepare the ground prior to the construction of round barrows or ring banks, and the use of fire to destroy mortuary houses before the construction of covering mounds of earth in a series of long barrows. Fire is then a destructive agent that is used in a deliberate manner to mark the closure or death of a particular monument in the Scottish Neolithic. Can we observe similar use of fire in the Neolithic of southern England?

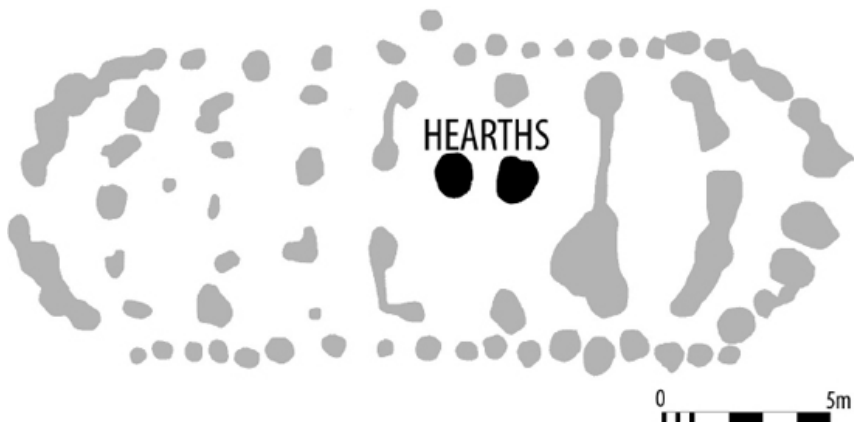


Figure 5.1 Plan of the timber structure at Claish Farm. Drawing by Aaron Watson.

Fire, violence and the sequence of causewayed enclosures

My account of causewayed enclosures will be confined mainly to sites in the SW of England, where the evidence for episodes of violent destruction is more plentiful (Oswald *et al.* 2001, 129).

Causewayed enclosures are generally concentrated in southern Britain (Oswald *et al.* 2001: 108); they are composed of interrupted ditches and banks often (but not exclusively) arranged in circular concentric forms (Evans 1988). It has long been appreciated that causewayed enclosures have lengthy histories with many episodes of reworking (Edmonds 1993; Bradley 1998) during which the ditches are recut and artefacts, animal bone and human bone are deposited within the ditches. Some causewayed enclosures have evidence for timber-laced earthworks, most particularly at the Stepleton enclosure, Hambledon Hill, Dorset (Figure 5.2). Timber substructures of this kind have been interpreted as defensive in nature and have drawn comparison with the box ramparts of Iron Age hillforts. These timbers have received much attention as they were so spectacularly destroyed, seeming to confirm their defensive function.

I now want to consider the sequence of activities that these episodes of destruction occur in. Fire played a significant role in the final phases of activity of phase 1c at Crickley Hill, Gloucestershire, and the backfilling of the final recuts involved fire. As the excavator, Philip Dixon observes ‘several lengths of the inner ditch, in particular, were fire-reddened on their rock faces and the bank material itself had been thoroughly burnt before it was once again dug out and piled behind the ditches’ (Dixon 1988: 81). There was only one recut after this phase of activity, which may have held a slight fence. After this the site was abandoned for a probable period of decades, based on the nature of the ditch fill (Dixon 1988: 81). At a later stage a further enclosure was constructed in phase 1d, which enclosed the flat area on the western summit of the hill. This phase incorporated a low palisade erected at the back of the base of the ditch (comparable to an earlier construction in phase 1b). This final phase of activity is marked by the concentration of leaf shaped arrowheads (totalling 400) in its eastern entrance, taken to indicate the attack of the enclosure (Dixon 1988, 82).

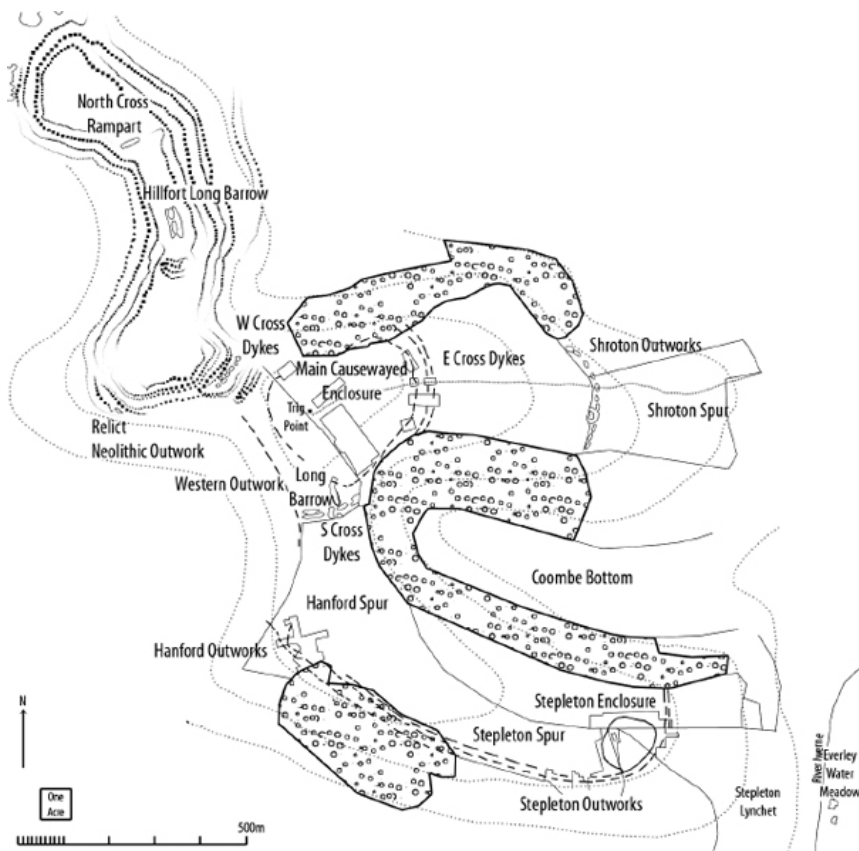


Figure 5.2 Plan of Hambledon Hill, Dorset. After Healy 2005.

Further evidence of destruction is seen at Hambledon Hill, Dorset (Mercer 1980, 1988; Mercer and Healy 2008). My analysis is based upon the account published by Healy (2005) and the excavation report (Mercer and Healy 2008). The site at Hambledon Hill is complex with at least four phases or periods of Neolithic activity (Mercer and Healy 2008: 13). The main causewayed enclosure is situated in the centre of the hill, while a series of outworks are built on spurs of the hill. Of these, the Stepleton enclosure on the SE spur is the most significant for my account. Healy notes that the timber substructure in the inner Stepleton outwork ‘showed signs of hasty construction and of abandonment in an incomplete state’ (Healy 2005: 32). Parts of it may never have been finished. This is difficult to reconcile with Mercer’s claim that the outworks ‘appear to accumulate to form a systematic function’ (Mercer in Mercer and Healy 2008: 760). The sequence at Hambledon suggests episodic phases of occupation and construction during the 4th millennium BC (Mercer and Healy 2008: 744–777), potentially indicating gradual accretions or accumulations of architectural constructions as opposed to a single cohesive military plan.

The timber exhibits evidence of having been burned over a length of 200m; it appears that these timbers burned intensely as they are charred down to their post-holes. The timber substructure then collapsed (or was pushed?) into the ditch (Mercer 1988: 104) and the chalk rubble scorched by the event was turned over and buried in the ditch in an act

reminiscent of that at Crickley Hill. This event is also associated with the death of two males: one buried with burnt chalk rubble and clay in a grave 80m away from the area, the other buried in the base of the ditch. The early phases of this structure are also associated with burial, this time of a neonatal child buried in the freshly cut ditch (Mercer 1988: 104).

These destruction events do not mark the end of activities on this part of the hill; in fact there is evidence for the rebuilding of the timber substructure and gateway (Healy 2005: 32). At this time a third outwork was built on the Stepleton spur; this too was associated with violence as a young male with a leaf arrowhead amongst his ribs was placed in the base of the freshly excavated ditch. This burial is coincident with a similar burial of a young male also with an arrowhead amongst his ribs placed in the partly silted inner outwork (Healy *ibid.*). Curiously, despite the violent destruction of the site, there are few arrowheads found at Hambledon Hill compared to other causewayed enclosures: a total of 42 thinly spread in time and space across the site (Healy 2005: 33), and therefore not especially associated with destruction events.

Destruction levels are also encountered at other sites. For example at the eastern site on Carn Brea, Cornwall there is clear evidence for burning associated with the final demolition of the megalithic walling surrounding the site, high levels of charcoal being readily observed in the extra-mural ditch around site J (Mercer 1981: 49). Again the appearance of burning in the ditch is redolent of other sites like Crickley Hill and Hambledon Hill. These destruction levels were clearly associated with numerous leaf shaped arrowheads (totalling 703), often clearly associated with the perimeter walls. At Hembury, Devon there is again evidence for burning within the ditch, as Lidell (1935: 138) notes that the east end of section I of the Neolithic enclosure exhibits evidence for having been burnt, with a 'layer of burnt matter, crackles, sandstone, branches and twigs which had scorched the surrounding sand red' (*ibid.*). In addition the rock cut shelf of the ditch was 'fiercely burnt'. This area was covered in charred fragments of wood, burnt stone and pottery, implying in-situ burning. This burnt layer followed a layer of silting, which appeared in the upper stratigraphy of most of the ditch sections excavated. By contrast with Carn Brea only 149 arrowheads were recovered, of which 8 were unfinished (Lidell 1935: 159, 162). Arrowheads were distributed across the site and there are no particular concentrations of them.

Thinking differently about causewayed enclosures and warfare

On the face of it the deposits associated with causewayed enclosures discussed above seem to relate to warlike activities. However, I want to reconsider these deposits in the light of the activities documented from Neolithic sites in Scotland. I argue that a careful examination of the field evidence highlights some problems with the warfare thesis. I want to deal with three strands of this evidence traditionally taken to indicate warfare: burning; human burials with evidence for violence; the presence of leaf-shaped arrowheads.

Burning

One important point to highlight is the nature and sequence of the burning events associated with causewayed enclosures; notably all the burning horizons are late in the sequence of use of the causewayed enclosures. This is particularly striking at Hembury where a horizon of burnt material appears to follow a period of silting in the ditch. At Hembury too we observe the burning of deposits in the ditch, suggestive of deliberate destruction by fire. Notably the burning at causewayed enclosures is not always the final phase at the site, and in some

cases, such as Crickley Hill, we observe construction phases that post-date the burning. This is to be expected as part of the current of activities at causewayed enclosures involves the continued re-cutting and reworking of sites, and when we consider that sites like Holm in Scotland may witness eight distinct phases of burning, the concept of burning followed by episodes of rebuilding should occasion little surprise in the context of causewayed enclosures. This is observed most starkly at Crickley Hill where the burning phase is followed by reconstruction and at a later phase the destruction of the enclosure by arrowhead fire, I argue that the sequence at Crickley Hill is reminiscent of the repetitive destruction of sites such as Holm. Like the activities associated with Scottish Neolithic monuments I believe these burning events are better seen as a form of deliberate closure ritual, and therefore closely associated with the orchestration of a memorably violent event. I will continue with the theme of memory and violence by considering the nature of the human remains in causewayed enclosures.

Human remains with evidence for violent deaths

The association between human bodies with evidence for violence with episodes of burning have been seen to be incontrovertible evidence of warfare. Nevertheless the relationship between the two has been called into question, especially with regard to Hambledon Hill. For example the body of one young man with a leaf arrowhead amongst his ribs is stratigraphically associated with the *construction* of the third and final outwork on the Shroton spur of the hill (Healey 2005: 32). This is suggestive less of warfare than of a deliberate deposit made to mark the inauguration of the monument. I believe we can consider the evidence of violent deaths at Hambledon Hill and other enclosures as examples of deliberate depositions to mark particularly auspicious events in the life of the monument, either construction or destruction. As such I believe these violent deaths also constitute a mode of orchestrating memory.

This interpretation is underlined by the remarkable deposit from the enclosure at Staines, discussed above, where the severed skull of an adult male was deposited in the outer ditch. The skull had been severed with several blows (Robertson-Mackay 1987: 38), presumably from a stone axe. It is worth remembering the difficulty of severing a human head using Neolithic stone technologies. I would suggest then that this burial has to be seen as a deliberate deposit, not simply a victim of warfare. The deliberate removal of bone from flesh and ritual treatment of human remains is likewise attested at Hambledon Hill where the defleshing of bone has been noted, evidence for defleshing ranges from transverse cuts on the anterior surface of a femur to two parallel cuts on a mandible (Healey 2005: 23; McKinley 2008). Healey suggests that skulls and other skeletal elements may have been curated for some considerable time before deposition, as many of the skulls from Hambledon exhibit evidence for wear (Healey 2005: 23).

Evidence for defleshing occurs in many other contexts, as at the chambered tombs of Coldrum and Eyford, Kent (Whittle and Wysocki 2000) and the long barrow at Haddenham, Cambridgeshire (Hodder and Evans 2007), and evidence for the deliberate destruction of human remains comes from Neolithic contexts in other regions (Schulting and Wysocki 2007). Equally, evidence for violent death comes from local regional contexts such as Wor barrow, Cranborne Chase (Pitt Rivers 1898) and Crichel Down 13, Dorset (Piggott and Piggott 1944). The violent deaths witnessed at causewayed enclosures and the treatment of human bone needs to be seen against this background of activities; it is part of the spectrum of mortuary tradition and need not be seen solely as peculiar to the 'war-like' contexts of causewayed enclosures. If the burials at Hambledon Hill and other causewayed enclosures

are not the result of warfare, how are they to be interpreted? An alternative interpretation of these deposits would be to see them as victims of the practice of human sacrifice.

It is illuminating to compare these deposits of human bone with those of the Iron Age. Deposits of human bone from Iron Age hillforts were likewise interpreted as evidence for warfare (Armit 2007), however careful analysis of the structure of pit deposits suggests that the deliberate deposition of human sacrifices alongside those of animals and agricultural produce is the more likely interpretation (Hill 1995: 105–106), indeed the practice of selecting and depositing certain elements of the body such as skulls is widely documented for the European Iron Age (Green 2001: 93–110). There are also interesting demographic comparisons between Iron Age and Neolithic sacrificial victims, as in both cases young adult males appear to be selected for deposition (Green 2001: 146). There is resonance here with the series of burials from the Shroton outwork at Hambledon Hill, repeatedly young males dispatched by leaf arrowheads.

There are obvious complications here when we consider that young males are also the likely participants in warfare; however the notion of sacrifice is strengthened when we consider the second major group of individuals selected for sacrifice during the Iron Age: children (Green 2001: 152–155). Here again there is a striking resonance with the body of the young man found prone in the ditch at Hambledon covering the body of a young child.

The concept of the deliberate deposition of human remains, and the deliberate selection and curation of certain individuals within causewayed enclosure deposits seems especially likely when we consider that the deposition of human remains is one of the key aspects of causewayed enclosure depositional practices; the selection and curation of specific human remains seems all the more plausible when we consider that deposition was highly ordered within causewayed enclosure ditches (Whittle and Pollard 1998). To sum up then, I believe that the deposition of certain human burials that met their end by violence is best seen as a form of sacrifice associated with the construction and closure activities of causewayed enclosures. This still leaves us with a final strand of evidence to consider: the distribution of leaf shaped arrowheads.

The distribution of arrowheads and the death of causewayed enclosures

We have examined the other strands of evidence for warfare at causewayed enclosures, and I have argued that in the case of burning and the evidence of violent human deaths we can interpret them as evidence of deliberate destruction and sacrifice. I want to continue this interpretative theme by considering the last strand of evidence, the distribution of arrowheads. When we examine evidence such as the concentration of arrowheads around the entrances of causewayed enclosures such as Crickley Hill, or the destruction by fire and arrows of Carn Brea these would seem to be certain evidence of warfare. However, this interpretation very much depends on how we conceptualise the nature of causewayed enclosures. Causewayed enclosures are evidently monuments constructed by a number of social groups, and as such symbolise social cohesion (Bradley 1998). The construction and role of causewayed enclosures as symbols of corporate cohesion appears to resonate with those of houses as documented ethnographically. Ethnographically the study of houses and other community architectural projects indicates that houses and community constructions are rarely considered merely in terms of their physical architecture, they are also considered as symbolic structures and as principles of social organisation (Joyce and Gillespie 2000). As such architecture is often perceived ‘biographically’ and undergoes changes according to the changes of the social groups that inhabit it (Marshall 2000); architectural structures are then living entities and they are treated as such by their inhabitants (Bradley 2005).

We already know that causewayed enclosures undergo considerable periods of reconstruction and reworking (Edmonds 1993), and the deliberate destruction of certain phases seems to be best seen in this light. Given the parallel notion of architectural constructions as living entities, might we then assume that just as people are sacrificed on the construction and destruction of the monument, so too is the building sacrificed? One means of sacrifice could be the deliberate burning of the palisade; another form of sacrifice might be the deliberate 'killing' of the monument using arrowheads. Thus the distribution of arrowheads might be best seen in this light as evidence for the symbolic destruction of the corporate entity of the causewayed enclosure, an act that notably parallels the method of sacrifice of human beings.

Sacrifice at causewayed enclosures

I have suggested that the destruction of causewayed enclosures and the deliberate deposition of certain human remains are best considered as evidence for sacrifice. To underline this point it is worth noting that the evidence for sacrifice is far more extensive in causewayed enclosures. Whittle and Pollard (1999: 389) note that a dominant feature of the activities at Windmill Hill, Wiltshire is the killing of animals and the consumption of their meat. They argue that these activities might be viewed as having a sacrificial component. Animals are suitable for sacrifice as they embody strength, vitality, fertility and sexuality; their demise acts as a kind of substitution for violence which, through conquest and consumption, captures elements of their vitality (Whittle and Pollard 1999: 390). The analogy between the sacrifice of animals and that of humans appears remarkable. The evidence and interpretation of sacrifice at Windmill Hill is especially illuminating as it occurs at a site with no other evidence for violent or destructive behaviour.

Sacrifice can also be observed at other sites with clear evidence for destruction, for example the large numbers of flint axes at Carn Brea, Cornwall were subjected to fire and broken (Mercer 1981: 138). Notably the sites excavator, Roger Mercer, argues for a war-like interpretation for the destruction of the site, and part of the site was certainly destroyed by fire. However, the accidental destruction of flint axes by fire (against the background of other artefacts unaffected by fire) during this episode of destruction seems a wholly unlikely event; as with the other elements of the site I suggest that the axes are also the result of systematic and selective sacrifice. That stone axes are deliberately destroyed by fire is well known from further afield, as at the Swedish megalithic site of Kvarrestad (Larsson 2000). It seems likely that, as with the Swedish examples, the destruction of flint axes at Carn Brea denotes an act of closure akin to the fiery destruction of the monument. Pollard (2008: 55–56) draws our attention to other episodes of intentional destruction including the destruction of axes beneath the long barrow at Waylands Smithy, Oxfordshire and quern stones from the causewayed enclosure at Etton, Cambridgeshire.

Comparisons with the Irish Neolithic

I want to briefly compare the activities that occur at Southwestern causewayed enclosures and Scottish timber structures with those occurring in the Irish Neolithic. Recent fieldwork in Ireland has revealed plentiful evidence for settlement during the Early Neolithic. Settlements mainly consist of rectangular timber structures. The excavation of a series of settlement structures notes their violent destruction. Like the interpretation of causewayed enclosures this has been interpreted as evidence for prehistoric warfare (Moore 2004). The best evidence for this comes from two sites, Ballyharry, Co. Antrim and Thornhill, Co.

Derry. Ballyharry was constructed in at least two phases, and at the end of the second phase it was subject to intense burning and a large number of broken and burnt projectile points, mainly leaf or laurel arrowheads. This activity was interpreted by the excavator as denoting violent attack by hostile raiding parties, complete with prosaic descriptions of fiery arrows delivering destruction to the defenders (Moore 2004: 150). At Thornhill a series of four rectangular houses (A–D) were surrounded by a wooden palisade. The palisade was burnt and was associated with projectiles, mainly leaf arrowheads, as were houses A and B.

As with causewayed enclosures a military interpretation has prevailed, however careful examination of the evidence in the light of the interpretation of causewayed enclosures advanced above suggests alternatives. Notably, all of the 36 Irish Neolithic houses listed by Moore (2004: 147) have been affected by fire, or have been demolished or dismantled. I believe that the latter terms provide a clearer picture of the nature of activities, and that the burning and firing of these timber structures is a component of their deliberate and systematic destruction as part of the life cycle of the house use and regeneration. The fact that some houses have been affected by fire and have received projectile attacks is merely another component of these episodes of decommissioning. In support of this argument it is notable that many of these episodes of destruction are followed by episodes of rebuilding. This is the case at Ballyharry, house 1 where the phase following the destruction activity involved rebuilding and the placement of formal deposits, with the deposition of a perfect laurel leaf arrowhead in the western foundation trench. In the phase following the rebirth of this structure a series of shallow pits were dug, these received flint, pottery and stone tools, including an exotic Cumbrian axe (Moore 2004: 1440). Likewise at Thornhill the destroyed palisade and houses were re-erected the following phase.

The interpretation that the violent attacks on these houses were consistently unsuccessful, and were consistently ‘won by the defenders’ (Moore 2004: 150) seems unfeasible. Indeed Moore (2004: 151) notes that the evidence for raiding in conjunction with the evidence from other houses is unlikely. Therefore it may be more appropriate to consider the burning of houses in the Irish Neolithic as part of an episode of renewal associated with the broader life cycle of the house. In this sense the Irish evidence may resonate with that from Scotland where, while buildings are burnt there is little evidence for projectile fire. Equally, the Irish evidence harmonises with the continued cycles of destruction and renewal evinced from the causewayed enclosures of southern England.

Conclusion: violent memory in the Neolithic

In conclusion, I have drawn on the interpretation of a series of Scottish Neolithic monuments to compare with the interpretation of the causewayed enclosures of SW England. I have questioned the traditional interpretation of a series of strands of evidence from these latter sites (burning, violent deaths, arrowheads) as the result of warfare, arguing instead that this evidence relates to deliberate memory formation involving the periodic destruction of monuments by fire and by arrow, alongside the incidents of human sacrifice. This interpretative shift need not be seen as an example of pacifying the past (pace Keeley 1996), rather I am emphasising the critical role of violence in the process of memory formation during the Neolithic of southern England. It should be emphasised that this interpretation need not be an overarching interpretation for causewayed enclosures across Britain, rather we should recognise that causewayed enclosures have multiple functions and roles during the Neolithic (Oswald *et al.* 2001: 120–132), the practices highlighted in this paper are best recognised as a regionalised practice of memory formation (Oswald *et al.* 2001: 129). The practices of periodic destruction, sacrifice and rebuilding are akin to the

repetitive episodes of recutting observed in other regions of southern England.

As I argued above memory and violence are inextricably linked, and these aspects are foregrounded in different ways in different regions of the British Isles during the Neolithic. Violence played an important role in the wider practice of memory formation in the SW Neolithic, as the periodic construction and destruction of causewayed enclosures are marked by episodes of extreme bodily violence, death and the ritualised display of the destruction of the monument by fire and arrows. By contrast we need not see the practices of memory formation in the Scottish Neolithic as overtly peaceful; while they were not marked by sacrifice, they nevertheless drew on the practice of cremation to mark the memorable destruction of buildings and monuments by fire. Finally, the practices discussed in this paper should be seen as components of a continuum of memorably violent events in prehistory, part of the ways in which prehistoric societies marked significant historical events.

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Layers of memory: An embodied approach to Late Bronze Age Central Macedonia, Greece

Vasileios Tsamis

Recent studies in archaeology and memory (e.g. Van Dyke and Alcock 2003; Williams 2003) have demonstrated the role of remembering and forgetting in the past. Nevertheless, the majority of this work focuses on burial practices, monuments and artefact biographies. Little is said about everyday practices and the role of built space. In contrast, this chapter will focus on the embodiment of space and the role of body senses in triggering memories. Everyday practices are analysed in order to understand their role in the creation of locality and remembering (or forgetting).

Late Bronze Age Central Macedonia, Greece, will provide two case studies (Assiros and Kastanas) (Figure 6.1) in order to demonstrate the role of built space in the creation of memories. Mound settlements are the norm in Central Macedonia. Their long habitation period (more than 1000 years of continuous habitation) and their successive building phases can be interpreted as “layers of memory”.

This approach will put forward an alternative way of interpreting built space in Prehistoric Macedonia. Moreover, it will introduce the importance of the mundane and locality in the process of remembering and forgetting in the past.

Introduction: memory and bodily experiences

This paper focuses on the role of memory in interpreting spatial organisation and introduces the notions “duration” and “multi-temporality”, both closely related with memory in Bergson’s book *Matter and Memory* (Bergson 1991[1908]). With the term duration I want to illustrate the enduring bodily experiences of space and material culture. The term multi-temporality refers to experiences and practices that have been lost or forgotten at an early stage of habitation only to be rediscovered several decades later. Embodied space is defined as the process of potential bodily experiences within place and across time. Moreover, the idea of “layers of memory” does not refer to bounded building phases that trigger remembering, but indicates the endurance and negotiation of bodily experiences through remembering and forgetting.

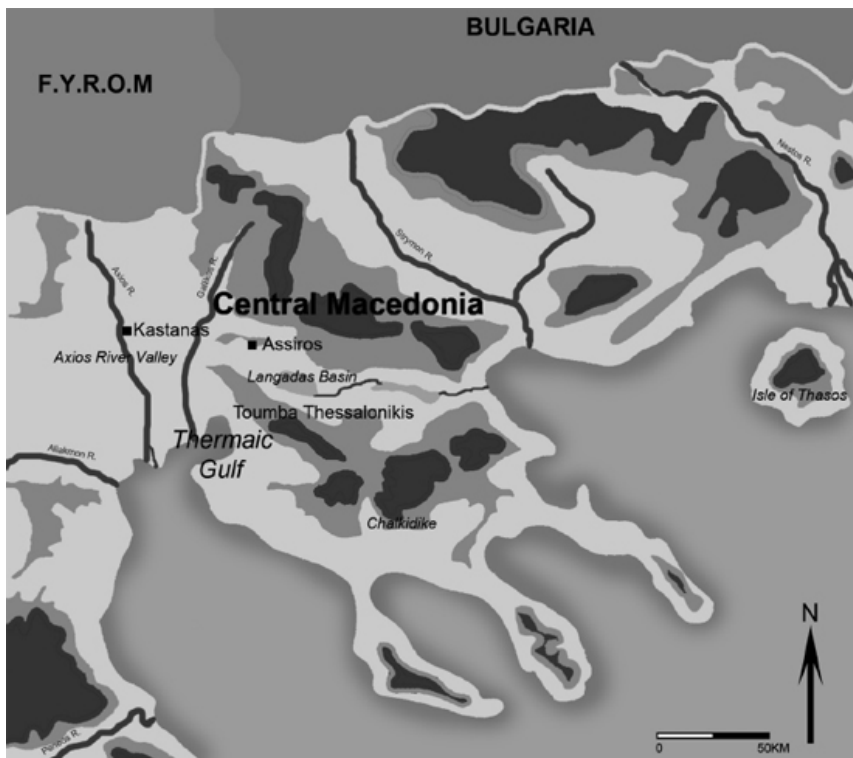


Figure 6.1. Map of central Macedonia, Greece.

Memory is not confined only to the mind of the individual; it is also not just the result of behaviour and habit. Instead, memory is culturally transferred among people through material culture. Memory is a culturally mediated material practice, activated by embodied experiences and practiced through material culture (Seremetakis 1996: 9). *The Senses Still* is an edited collection on ethnographical work with contributions from various scholars, where Nadia Seremetakis deals with the sensory memory of a Greek community in Mani. She demonstrates the ‘consumption’ of history and the lost taste of past sensory memory. It is a study of mainland Greece and the Peloponnese drawing attention to the unevenness of social transformation and importance of sensory experience in the understanding of the social structures.

The work of Nadia Seremetakis is focused on sensory memory and the emotions that provokes. Hence, her study also tries to incorporate the feelings and emotions of the people in the understanding of society. Taste, touch and emotions are analysed together, providing a sensuous emotional memory where the human body, its senses and emotions are the key in interpreting the world. Therefore, according to Seremetakis, “*memory is the horizon of sensory experiences, storing and restoring the experience of each sensory dimension as well as finding sensory records outside the body in a surround of objects and places*” (Seremetakis 1996: 9–10). The above approach, interprets memory as a bodily experienced process that is triggered by corporeal practices and manifested in everyday life.

Through the work of Yannis Hamilakis on the human body and food consumption (e.g. Hamilakis 1998, 1999) human experiences are interpreted as embedded in an embodiment

of human life and existence. In particular eating and drinking are not mundane biological practices, but socially meaningful arenas of transformation. Food and drink consumption is an act that incorporates emotions, feelings and memories (Hamilakis 1999: 39). The human senses are triggered by what is consumed, shaping memories and identities. Everyday life is not a reflection of social organisation and power distribution, but a driving force shaping social and cultural identity. The physiological body provides a source of symbolism and metaphor, which can be used as a means of understanding other features of human experience (Hamilakis 2002: 11).

Bodily senses and corporeal experiences are instantaneous processes to which memory gives duration in space and time (Sutton 2001). Memory's primary action is to evoke past actions, which are analogous to present actions, to recall to us what preceded and followed; the grasping in a single intuition of multiple moments of action (Bergson 1991[1908]: 120). It is through memory that past embodied practices are maintained. It is memory that creates a sense of continuity, change and links with the past. Therefore, memory is the mnemonic process intertwined with sensory experience in such a manner as to render each process of remembering an embodied practice.

I would like to explore these approaches to memory and the senses through their application in the study of built space and material culture of Late Bronze Age Central Macedonia, Greece (1350–1150 BC). The selected timeframe corresponds with Assiros building phases 9 (1350–1300 BC) and 8 (1300–1270 BC), and Kastanas building phases 15 (1320–1220 BC) and 13 (1180–1150 BC). I would like to look at the mound settlements of Assiros and Kastanas as two case studies which are particularly appropriate, since their prehistoric inhabitants continuously occupied the same area, creating a distinctive type of settlement in the process. These two case studies were part of my research at Southampton University and were chosen due to their extended excavation and direct contrast in built space organisation.

Case studies: Assiros and Kastanas

Central Macedonia is situated in northern Greece. It has Mediterranean climate near the coast, and a more central European in the mainland. The region is dominated in the north by high mountains, while two major rivers (Axios and Strymon) provide natural barriers in its division into East, West and Central Macedonia. The period I investigate is the Late Bronze (Figure 6.2). Although mound settlements are identified in Central Macedonia from the Neolithic during the Late Bronze Age this region witnesses their widespread appearance.

The first example is that of Assiros, located in the Langadas Basin, 80km north of the major port of Thessaloniki. The tell is approximately 110m in length, 70m wide and 14m high, located next to two small streams and was inhabited from 2200 BC to 700 BC (Figure 6.3). Due to the presence of large storage rooms (building phases 9 and 8), and the continuity of its building plans, it has been interpreted by its excavators and scholars as playing a redistributive role in the region, similar to that of the Mycenaean Palaces in southern Greece (*e.g.* Andreou, Fotiadis, *et al.* 2001; Andreou, Kotsakis, *et al.* 2001; Jones *et al.* 1986; Wardle 1983, 1998).

Chronology of Macedonia

Neolithic Age

Early	6700 BC	5600 BC
Middle	5600 BC	5300 BC
Late	5300 BC	4500 BC
Final	4500 BC	3100 BC

Bronze Age

Early	3100 BC	2200 BC
Middle	2200 BC	1500 BC
Late	1500 BC	1100 BC

Iron Age

Early	1100 BC	850 BC
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Figure 6.2. Chronological table of central Macedonia, Greece.

The second case study is the mound settlement of Kastanas, located in the Axios river valley, the settlement is 110m in length, 50m wide and 14m in height. During the course of its habitation the site was situated within a marshland and was an island (Schulz 1989: 375). It was inhabited almost continuously from 2400 BC to 200 BC (Figure 6.3). Its characteristics are the frequent remodelling of the settlement layout and consumption of wild animals during the final building phase of the Late Bronze Age (Hänsel *et al.* 1989: 350).

Assiros: duration of memory and senses

The successive building phases in Assiros illustrate continuous habitation for c.1500 years. Buildings were rebuilt, materials reused and spatial organisation maintained. The above led to the creation of distinctive habitation space and also resulted in the formation of a large settlement mound. Nevertheless, instead of focusing on the changes of building plans and their interpretation as the results of invasion and colonisation (*e.g.* Hänsel *et al.* 1989; Heurtley 1939), I stress the role of duration. To reiterate, the duration of the past is manifested in material remains and is through them that memory makes bodily experiences meaningful. The evidence from Assiros provides many examples in support of the above.

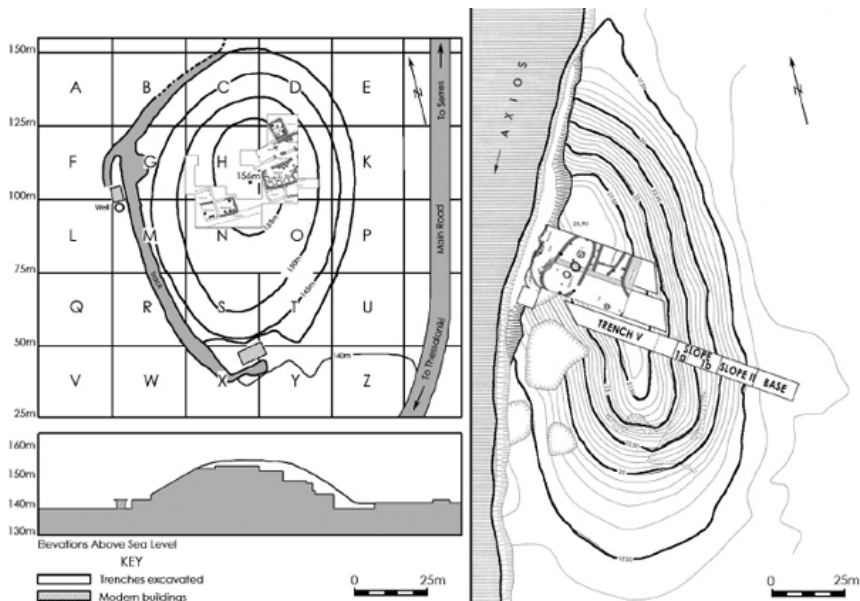


Figure 6.3. Site plan of mound Assiros and Kastanas (based on Hänsel et al. 1989: 33; Wardle 1980: 233).

The actual shape and size of the settlement demonstrates, even today, the enduring nature of the site. The existence of at least ten successive building phases, with only one major event of abandonment (1000–975 BC), was a conscious choice by the prehistoric inhabitants of the settlement to preserve the past in their present. The mound was formed by the accumulation of building debris during the remodelling of walls and replenishment of floors. Therefore, the continuous formation processes seen at Assiros is negotiating memory and embodied experiences, where changing building plans and materials are the promotion of alternative ways of experiencing.

The successive building phases in Assiros shared building techniques, orientation and spatial organisation. The building materials were reused, the orientation of built structures maintained and architectural plans remodelled. All the above clearly demonstrate the effort to maintain an enduring spatial organisation within the settlement. This practice could have originated because of the lack of access to resources and also to minimise the need for a new site orientation. However, by following such practices for almost a millennium, people in Assiros were putting in effort to maintain past embodied experiences of the use and meaning of domestic space. They also organised labour in order to build surrounding walls and terraces to extend their living space. Therefore, the duration of built space was maintained by the need to continue past bodily practices, which were based on the importance of remembering previous embodied experiences.

The need to continue past bodily practices and social interaction is identified in the extensive evidence for large storage rooms in Assiros building phases 9 and 8 (1350–1270 BC) (Figure 6.4) when the inhabitants were exploiting the complete range of available crops in the region (e.g. emmer wheat, barley) (Wardle 2001). It is clear that during phase 9 and 8 the inhabitants of Assiros were investing time and resources in the construction of centralised storage facilities. All roofed buildings were crowded with pithoi, large baskets

and smaller clay containers. The majority of such findings were in situ. In particular, room 9 is the largest storage room (9m long and 4m wide) with an amassment of storage containers. On the basis that pithoi can hold between 100 and 150 litres, clay bins and baskets approximately 100 litres, it was assumed (Jones *et al.* 1986: 86) that room 9 had a capacity of 2000 to 3000 litres. Rooms 12, 14, 18, 24 and 25 had pithoi and clay bins (in situ) pointing towards their interpretation as storerooms. On the basis of the assumptions above, these structures had a storage capacity of about 1,000 litres (Jones *et al.* 1986). In general, the excavated area from Assiros during phase 9 and 8 had storing capacity of at least 7000 litres, more than enough to feed 30 people for a year (Jones 1987).

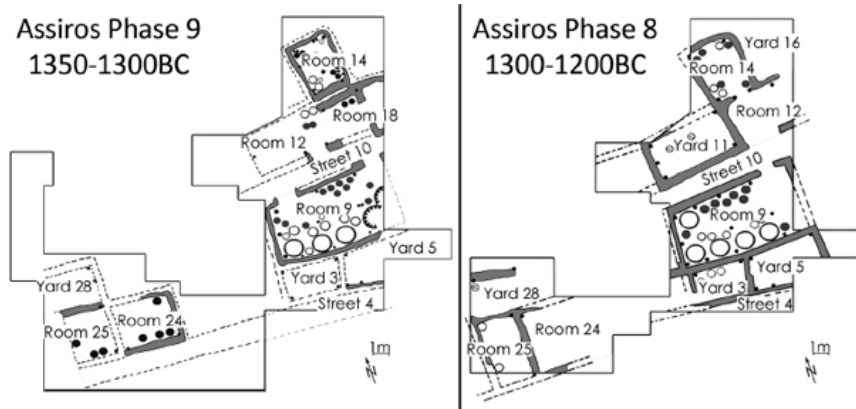


Figure 6.4. Assiros building phases 9 and 8 (modified from Wardle 1988: 385 and 461).

The main cultivated plants in Assiros were einkorn, emmer wheat and spelt. In addition, another two cereals were grown, barley and wheat. Finally, there was evidence for the cultivation of vetch (Jones *et al.* 1986: 87). The above plants would have comprised the bulk of the consumed foodstuffs as bread or gruel. In addition, they could have been used as fodder, since human foodstuffs that had been deteriorated in storage could have been redefined as fodder (*e.g.* Forbes 1998; Halstead 1996). Evidence from the charred plant remains indicates that not all cultivated crops were stored across the site. In particular, barley was absent from rooms 9, 14, 24 and 25; millet was absent from room 12 and vetch was absent from rooms 12 and 14.

According to Jones (1986: 89), in an unpredictable environmental context the sensible decision for farmers would have been to cultivate a diverse range of crops. If the above buildings represented individual family storage it would have indicated specialisation, rather than diversification. Therefore, it is fair to assume that all these storage facilities could have been part of a centralized/communal storage regime. Otherwise the people of Assiros would have added considerably to their labour by failing to take advantage of the complementary properties of the full range of cultivated crops (1986: 115–119). The agglomeration of rooms in phase 9 and 8 illustrates that people in Assiros were also sharing space. Assiros phase 9 and 8 is synchronous with Kastanas phase 15. However, there are no stand-alone buildings like in Kastanas, but a uniform building plan that remains unchanged. From the above, it can be suggested that farming and storage in Assiros was a collective practice with the engagement of the majority of its people.

Hence, it could be stated that the inhabitants of Assiros were part of an extended household community, participating in the production of food and space. Farming

experiences and storage spaces were collective and easily accessed. Furthermore, unroofed spaces (yards and passageways) were places of sharing food and gathering of people. The accumulation of food waste, broken pottery and domesticated animal bones on these unroofed areas strengthens the above interpretation.

The extensive storage facilities in Assiros phase 9 and 8 is something that has not been encountered in Kastanas. Therefore, they could have played a greater role in shaping sensuous memories. Crops in Assiros were cultivated on different growing cycles (*e.g.* einkorn, millet, bitter vetch/bread wheat, and barley) but also stored in different forms, containers and rooms. Crops of the same growing cycles were stored in the same storerooms. In that way specific smells and memories were to be accumulated at the same place across time. This can reflect the existence of a daily or even annual routine of a certain group of people engaged in the cultivation, processing and storage of specific crops in designated areas. Individual family units and different families could have selected to cultivate certain crops and not others, contributing to the diversification of farming. This could have provided the arena to create identities on the basis of what is cultivated, stored and by whom.

Collective experiences in the farming fields were ‘stored’ in specific containers that would have triggered memories of people and events. Since certain crops were associated with certain rooms, containers and perhaps people, then a sense of locality and sharing of experiences would have been developed among certain people. Smells of stored crops, textures of storage containers, would have played a part in the spatial organisation of storerooms, embodiment of space and creation of identities.

The importance of remembering previous embodied experiences can also be identified in the continuous use of the Macedonian “wishbone” handled bowls produced on site (Figure 6.5). Their large capacity could mean that they were used in order to share food and drink at large scale gatherings. If we accept Wardle’s interpretation that local potteries were used in communal consumption (Wardle *et al.* 2003), then local Macedonian handmade pottery was preferred for its larger capacity for food and drink in contrast with the smaller wheelmade Mycenaean imported and locally produced vessels (Figure 6.5).

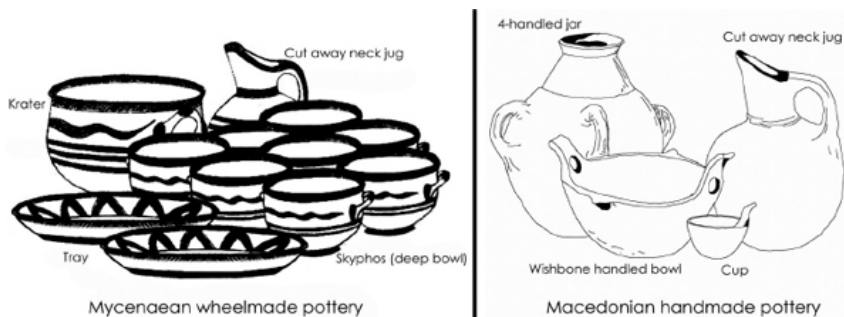


Figure 6.5. Mycenaean wheelmade and Macedonian handmade pottery styles (modified from Wardle *et al.* 2003: 638–641).

As stated above large quantities of broken pottery and food waste had accumulated in unroofed yards and passageways around the storage rooms. This could be the result of food and drink being shared and consumed among the participants of large scale gatherings, served from locally produced handmade bowls and basins. Such feasts were important in the political economy of the settlement by mobilising collective labour (Dietler and Herbich

2001: 245–246). People were participating in such events consuming food in return for work. Furthermore, the evidence suggests these social events occurred throughout all periods of the site's development. It could be that such events were associated with important agricultural cycles, experienced with the same intensity across many generations.

Akin to the storing of foodstuffs in communal storerooms, the memories and collective experiences of the community were “stored” in episodic communal consumption of food and drink. The accumulation of food waste and broken pottery may have acted as a sensory reminder of past social events in an effort to encourage locality and continuity.

Kastanas: multi-temporality of built space

In order to escape from labelling the past as static and memory as one dimensional, I have to readdress the role of change and transformation in interpreting the past. The mound of Kastanas shows that although the site was continuously occupied for more than 2000 years, its available living area was constantly diminishing unlike Assiros. As each building phase was built on top of a previous one the available living space became reduced since there is no evidence for the construction of terraces. Therefore, although the mound of Kastanas bears testament to its longevity, it simultaneously shows changes in the available living space as it develops. This indicates the double nature of the site; enduring yet changing.

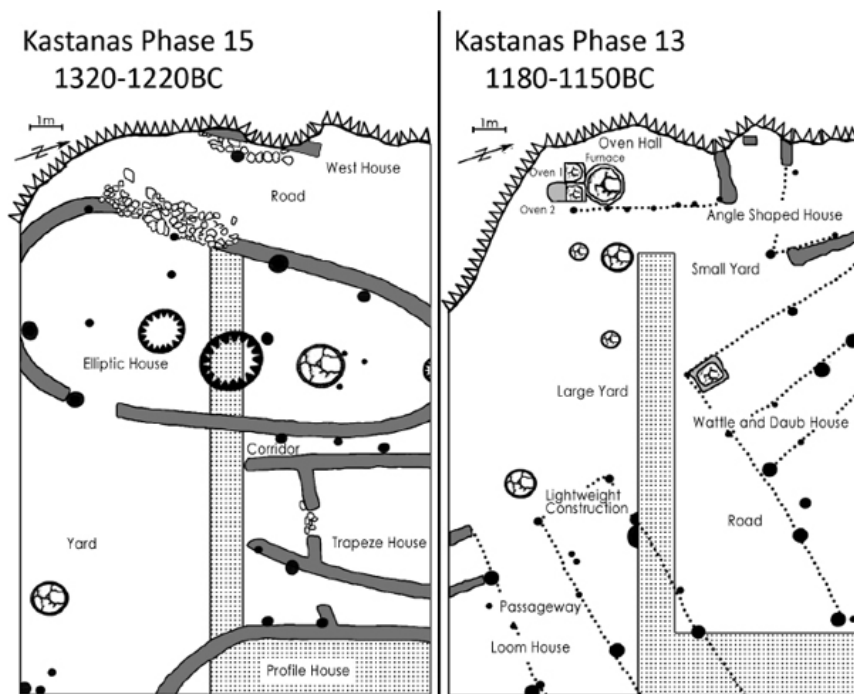


Figure 6.6. Kastanas building phases 15 and 13 (based on Hänsel et al. 1989: Plans 11, 12 and 14).

In addition, although the successive building phases in Kastanas share building techniques, orientation and building organisation, they are also transformed. Therefore, while phase 15 (1320–1220 BC) (Figure 6.6) was built on mud bricks with stand alone

elliptic structures and internal hearths; phase 13 (1180–1150 BC) (Figure 6.6) was characterised by wattle and daub walls, small closely-built structures and open hearths (Hänsel *et al.* 1989). This transformation makes clear that during the life of the settlement different ways of constructing and experiencing domestic space were applied.

Space in phase 15 was organised and built in two different ways. First were the elliptic structures that existed across the mound, and second the unroofed yards. These buildings were constructed from mud bricks of mid reddish-yellow loam with set dimensions (0.48m × 0.31m × 0.08m). These variations in built space can indicate the existence of different ways in experiencing space on site. The sensory potential of elliptic structures is brought out by the rough texture and reddish-yellow colour of the dried mud construction. The floors of the structures were replenished frequently and were made from compacted loam of the same colour. Inside these buildings there was evidence for storage pits for at least one hearth in each structure. The storage pits would have been giving offsmells from their stored foodstuff, which was mainly barley. Also, the hearth would have been providing warmth, light and the smells of burnt wood and cooked food.

Elliptic spaces were restricting movement with the existence of entrance halls and numerous roof posts that made visibility and access difficult. Moreover, indoor spaces were poorly lit. Evidence from three dimensional reconstructions of the structures showed that these spaces were poorly lit, even in ideal light conditions (direct natural sunlight). Hence, the flickering light from the hearth or any other lighting source would not have provided adequate lighting.

Based on the orientation of the building entrances, movement in phase 15 was directed towards unroofed yards, whilst buildings were closely built next to each other. In open spaces movement was not restricted. They had gravelly surfaces made from mid greyish yellow loam and abundant sub rounded gravels. Unlike the floors of building interiors they were not compacted. In comparison with the built elliptic space, unroofed yards enable ease of movement.

Built spaces had particular sensory practices and were experienced differently from open spaces. Collective experiences in built space were subject-centred with emphasis on weaving and individual consumption. This is supported by the presence of Mycenaean wheelmade imported vessels (mainly cups and kylikes) that hold drink and foodstuffs significant for one individual (Figure 6.7). This individual act of drinking, weaving and producing, would have strengthened relations among the extended families of the site. This sensory practice was in direct contrast with that reflected in the material assemblages from unroofed spaces.

People in Kastanas gathered in unroofed yards consuming greater quantities of food and drink from Macedonian handmade produced on site vessels in large scale social gatherings (Figure 6.8). Food, drink and experiences of sound, taste and smell were shared communally. It seems that two different modes of sensory experience existed during this building phase. One that encouraged large scale social relations, emphasising participation and sharing of experiences and another that was exclusive, controlled and experienced individually.

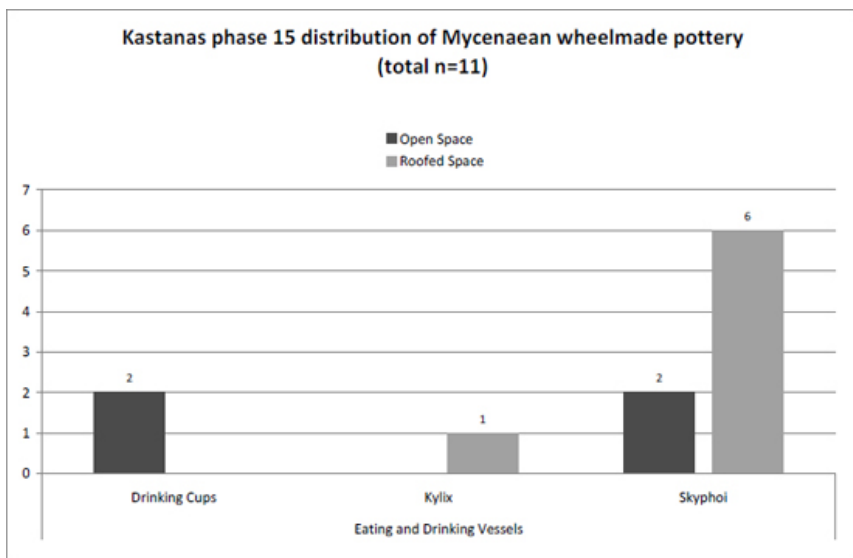


Figure 6.7. *Kastanas phase 15 distribution of Mycenaean wheelmade imported pottery (based on Jung et al. 2002: Tafel 76 and 77).*

The radical change in spatial organisation in Kastanas during phase 13 can be associated with the preparation and consumption of food in great quantities in unroofed yards. Multiple open hearths were situated next to each other with evidence of their continuous repair and reconstruction (Hänsel *et al.* 1989: 335). Such an event was not identified in phase 15. Adjacent built areas were not taking part in the preparation of food. Cooking and eating was almost exclusively practiced outdoors (Figure 6.9). The above could be interpreted as a shift towards communal consumption in order to strengthen relationships when living space on Kastanas was diminishing and contested.

The study of sensory practices of phase 13 showed that open spaces were focal sensory places with emphasis in the dispersal of smells and movement. Their large size and abundance in pottery fragments, both Macedonian and Mycenaean, found in mainly primary fills, suggest that collective experiences were manifested through sharing pottery for the display and consumption of food and drink. More than 85% of the recovered pottery is Macedonian handmade and produced on site (Hochstetter 1984: 215).

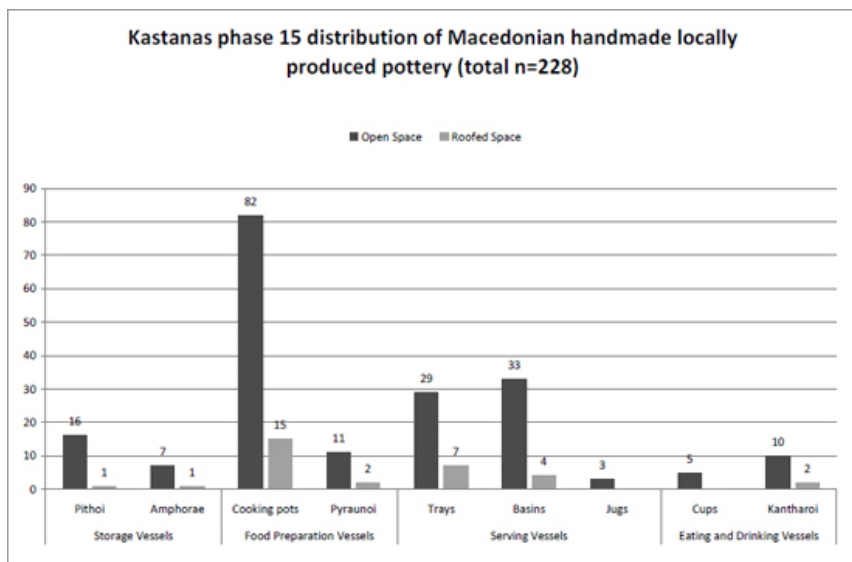


Figure 6.8. Kastanas phase 15 distribution of Macedonian handmade locally produced pottery (based on Hänsel et al. 1989: 115).

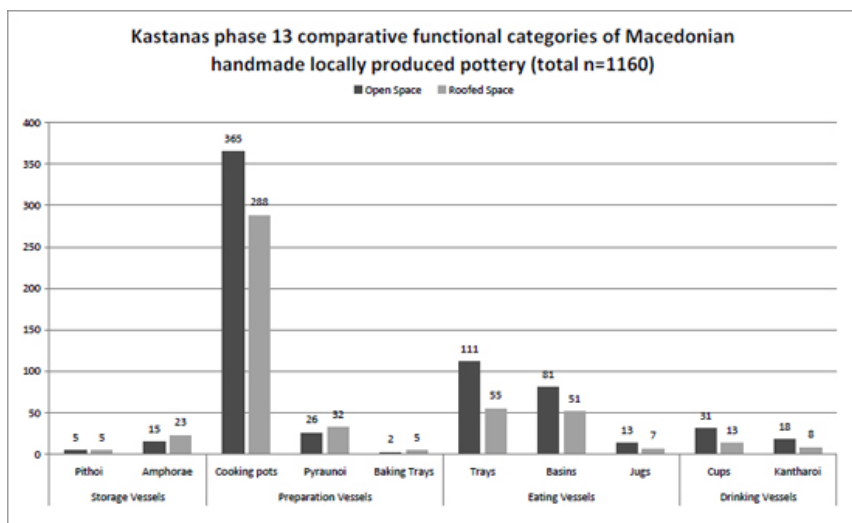


Figure 6.9. Kastanas phase 13 distribution of Macedonian handmade locally produced pottery (based on Hochstetter 1984: 224)..

Kastanas phase 15 and 13 Minimum Number of Individuals (total n=183)

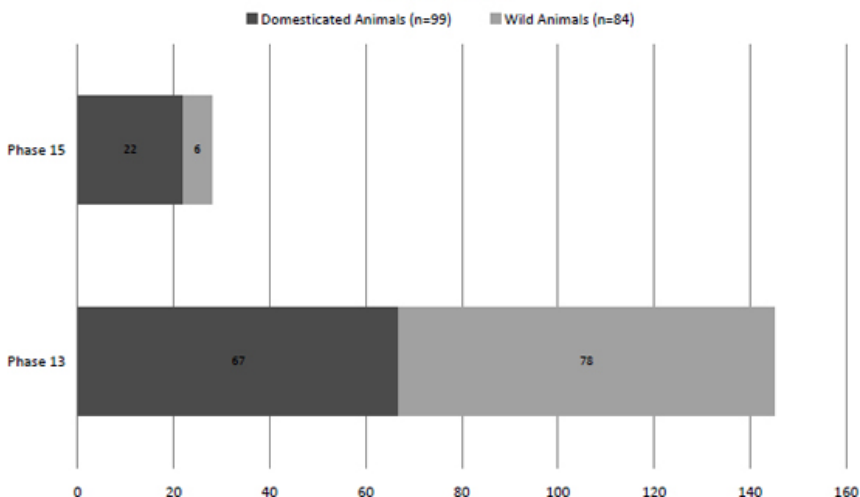


Figure 6.10. Comparative table of MNI of animals from Kastanas phase 15 and 13 (based on Becker 1986: 335–336).

The sensory potential of this pottery style would have a rough surface made from mid yellowish-grey clay. There was no decoration or use of colour. Hence, the rough texture, large size and weight would have been the sensory experiences of the users of this material, which were associated with its form. Also, smells and tastes were associated with this pottery. In particular the food cooked and consumed in those vessels was a form of gruel made from boiled wheat and barley along with meat and possibly bone marrow (Becker 1995: 90–95). In terms of flavouring, it is probable that honey, grapes (*Vitis vinifera*), figs (*Ficus carica*), poppy seeds (*Papaver somniferum*) and melon (*Cucumis melo*) were used as sweeteners since they were found in the environmental evidence from the site (Kroll 1983: Beilage 3). The ‘wishbone’ handled bowl, with its large capacity, could have been used in order to share food and drink from the same vessel. Moreover, the shape of the ‘wishbone’ handled bowl would have made easy the passing of the vessel from person to person.

The importance of communal consumption and participation in social events can be further appreciated if we take into consideration the sudden change in wild animal consumption (Figure 6.10). This shift towards hunting could have been the result of food shortages or failed crops (e.g. Halstead and O’Shea 1982: 93–95), change in the perception of landscape and environment, change in the practice of competition and attitude towards masculinity and gender, or possibly change in taste and smell of cooked food.

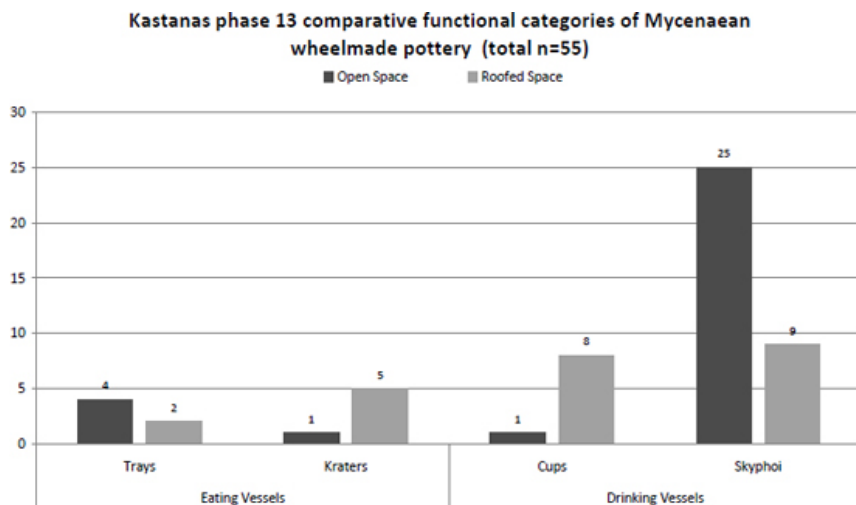


Figure 6.11. Kastanas phase 13 distribution of Mycenaean wheelmade imported pottery (based on Jung et al. 2009: Tafel 85, 86, 87 and 88).

Whereas in the past domesticated animals were predominant, in phase 13 wild animals are extensively hunted in the surrounding areas, whilst they were butchered and consumed in the settlement (Becker 1986). People engaged in the hunting of forest animals (fallow deer, red deer and wild boar) would have worked in hunting parties, experiencing the smells, sounds and textures of the natural landscape. Returning back to the settlement, the cooking and consuming of the hunted animals could have been retained by the same hunting groups, transforming them into consumable food (Hamilakis 2003). Communal consumption could have demonstrated the success of specific groups over others. Moreover, the hunters could have shared their hunting stories and adventures through the communal consumption of wild animals inside the settlement.

Characteristic of phase 13 is the evidence of drinking from individual Mycenaean wheelmade cups and deep bowls, produced on site (Jung 2004: 35–38) (Figure 6.11). In contrast with the Macedonian handmade pottery, Mycenaean pottery has a different sensory potential, because of its smoother texture and smaller size. The pottery had dark reddish-brown and mid greyish-brown coloured decoration with patterns, the clay used had little or no inclusions and was of fine quality. Moreover, the vast majority of these vessels were found indoors. The smooth texture and visual impact of these vessels would have triggered the human senses in a different way than the local pottery. Perhaps the finer, smoother quality of the pottery was a reflection of its use in consumption of wine and “exotic” food recipes.

The built space in phase 13 was made of light wattle and daub rectangular structures. All structures had a series of posts to support the roof with no evidence for walls, which were facing towards the open space. These domestic spaces had elevated floors and were visible from the outside. Within these structures there is evidence for the existence of upright looms, along with loomweights and spindle whorls. Inside those spaces the majority of Mycenaean wheelmade deep bowls and cups was unearthed.

The above aspects could be interpreted as reflecting performative indoor practices viewed by an audience in open spaces. The ‘spectators’ of such an event (located in open

spaces) would have shared food and drink mainly from Macedonian handmade locally produced pottery. The 'performers' would have drunk wine from Mycenaean-style locally produced vessels. Taking part in such an event would have encouraged collective experiences of weaving for the performers and communal consumption for the spectators. Drinking from a Mycenaean wheelmade locally produced cup could serve as an inspiration, where the patterns on the pot could have duplicated those on textiles. In addition, the wine's colour might resemble that of the textile. Furthermore, the wine might have been mixed with hallucinogenic or poisonous plants (*e.g.* black henbane, black nightshade, opium and butter flower) (Kroll 1983: Beilage 3).

Inhabitants in Kastanas were sharing food and drink in unroofed yards, while in the surrounding built space textile production was on display. The light construction of the roofed structures walls would have eased the dissemination of sounds and smells across the mound. Sensory potential of the two pottery styles in Kastanas shows they were experientially different, possibly directed towards different groups. On the one hand is the rough texture and lack of visual stimulants on the Macedonian handmade locally produced pottery. On the other hand is the smooth texture and striking visually Mycenaean wheelmade locally produced pottery. This suggests an emphasis on the sensory stimuli in Mycenaean vessels, in direct contrast with the limited sensory potential of local pottery styles.

Evidence for similar practices during Kastanas phase 11 (1020–970 BC) illustrates their continuity and multi-temporality. Therefore, the manipulation of corporeal experiences of vision, taste and smell at social gatherings in Kastanas can be regarded as 'empowering' performances and 'disempowering' consumption, in which textile production and wine drinking are invested in the acquisition of symbolic capital and maintenance of social relations. This collective experience would have reinforced collective identity and created potential differences in power relations and the acquisition of social knowledge.

Similar building techniques of wattle and daub walls, open hearths and textile production on a large-scale were also found in phase 10 (970–840 BC), demonstrating the endurance and multi-temporality of building practices. Pre-existing ways of constructing public and domestic spaces are being applied throughout the site's development in order to create a distinctive but related present. The above examples clearly demonstrate the simultaneous existence of past spatial organisation in later periods, and the influence of ancestral building techniques to the development of the settlement. Therefore, in Kastanas, past, present and future are intertwined influencing each other. Spatial organisation illustrates the multi-temporal character of the site and therefore, the complex nature of memory.

Conclusion: layers of multi-temporal duration

The past is not only about transformation and change, but also about duration. The architectural remains of Assiros and Kastanas support the notion of multi-temporal duration, where the past, present and future interplay and influence each other. Duration of habitation engulfs change, while change and transformation incorporate references to the past and thus create a sense of continuity. This multi-temporal duration of the past is clearly manifested in the material record and most evidently in the construction of space. Therefore, memory is culturally transferred through material culture. In Assiros this is found in the continuation of built space and use of set mud brick dimensions and textures. In Kastanas this is apparent in the constant remodelling and change in spatial organisation where mud bricks were replaced by wattle and daub and vice versa.

Bodily senses and corporeal experiences are instantaneous processes that memory gives duration in space and through time. If we bear in mind that each process of remembering can be seen as an embodied practice, then interpreting embodied space incorporates the reconstruction of potential processes of remembering or forgetting in the past. Evidence from the two case studies shows that memory is activated by embodied experiences and is triggered by corporeal practices. Storing of foodstuff in Assiros would have associated particular smells and textures with particular rooms and movement through space. In Kastanas, the consumption of food from Macedonian pottery in unroofed spaces would have been accompanied by textures, smells and sounds.

The characteristic shape of mound settlements is due to the interplay between remembering and forgetting past bodily experiences. Sensory memory preserved previous embodied practices in order to create locality, a sense of continuity, links with the past and probably address issues of identity. However, this process of remembering and forgetting was not only confined to special occasions but also manifested in everyday life. In Assiros this is found in the daily routines of farming and storing of food. Also in the preservation of movement through space since the spatial organisation remained unchanged. In Kastanas memory is manifested in the daily routines of cooking and sharing of food through Macedonian handmade pottery.

Memory in Assiros and Kastanas is about duration and multi-temporality, where past, present and future are found in each construction phase. Layers of memory are not the successive construction phases as bounded entities of duration that trigger remembrance of things past, but layers of enduring bodily experiences of space, constantly renegotiated and incorporated in new embodied practices.

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Memory, landscape and body in Bronze Age Denmark

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Burial mounds and rock art are obvious segments of the Bronze Age archaeological record that are relevant to the topic of memory and memorials. It is less clear that ritual deposits, buried out of sight, can be illuminated through this perspective. This chapter is an exploration of the Bronze Age ritual hoards from Denmark through the literature on memory and memorialisation. Many hoards contain objects worn or manipulated by individual people, and others contain objects that were prominent at special communal events (e.g. feasting equipment, horns). The hoards were frequently deposited in distinctive landscape settings, and the number increases when cremation becomes the dominant burial pattern. Thus, the hoards provide an opportunity to bring together theoretical perspectives on memory, landscape, inalienable objects, and the body in the context of a ranked but non-state society. This paper examines the memorialisation of the gendered person and the social community through deposition of Bronze Age ritual hoards.

Introduction

In European archaeology, the topic of memory and memorialisation is often linked to visible, humanly created or modified monuments such as megaliths, barrows, henges, and hill forts, as well as to rock art. It is not surprising that such deliberate manipulations of the landscape draw attention as persistent markers of identity, power, and community. The well known bog deposits of northern Europe, while also often discussed as part of ritual and symbolism, are less obviously linked to memorialisation (although see Bradley 2000). These deposits did not leave visible marks on the landscape in the same way as barrows, earthworks, and petroglyphs. However, numerous artefact types are shared between burials and bog deposits, and both depositional contexts suggest a non-daily-life function. Thus, it is worthwhile to consider this type of find from the perspective of the archaeology of memory.

The Bronze Age hoards (or votive deposits) of southern Scandinavia have provided material evidence for archaeological debates for at least 150 years (e.g. Jensen 1972; Neergaard 1890–1903; Kristiansen 1982, 1991; Thrane 1975; Worsaae 1866, among many others). They have been used to examine chronology, typology, technology, ideology, settlement pattern, long-distance exchange, social stratification, ritual, and gender. While the recovered hoards must be only a sample of those originally deposited (indeed, a sample of unknown proportion), this rich database has not yet been exhausted. In this chapter, I will work through some ideas about social memory and ritual with these finds as my source material. One key question to examine is what was the meaning and significance to the Bronze Age communities of these activities: the repeated deposit of apparently valuable and probably ideologically significant objects into bogs, streams, and wet places. It is equally important to link this discussion to other ongoing theoretical conversations in archaeology. A useful “archaeology of memory” is one that will contribute to other general topics, such as the development and role of hierarchy or the variability of gender roles in prehistoric

societies. In fact, it seems to me that this is a topic that links together a broad range of theoretical perspectives including discussions of landscape archaeology, inalienable objects, gendered bodies, and the power of ritual. Thus, I will be making links to theoretical work by Annette Weiner (1985, 1992), Barbara Mills (2004), Richard Bradley (2000, 2002, 2003), Eric Wolf (1990), Roy Rappaport (1971), Wendy Ashmore (2006; Knapp and Ashmore 1999), and others.

Culture historical background

Basic culture historical background can be found in Jensen (1982), Coles and Harding (1979), and Hvass and Storgaard (1993), from which this summary is taken. The Bronze Age of southern Scandinavia is conventionally dated to approximately 1800–600/500 BC and encompasses Denmark, northernmost Germany, southern Sweden and southern Norway. I will focus on Denmark. Montelius's six-period chronological scheme of the Nordic Bronze Age, now 120 years old, still serves as a reasonable guide: Periods I–III encompass the Early Bronze Age, roughly 1800–1100 BC; periods IV–VI encompass the Late Bronze Age, roughly 1000–500 BC. The south Scandinavian communities of the Bronze Age practiced agriculture and animal husbandry. People lived in long houses built of timber, wattle and daub, and thatch, clustered with smaller buildings into unfortified farmsteads and villages. Handmade pottery (undecorated or minimally decorated) and chipped stone tools are ubiquitous in domestic contexts, although both can be described as utilitarian and have not attracted as much archaeological attention as metal objects.

At the beginning of the Bronze Age, burial practice is inhumation in an earthen mound, sometimes in an oak trunk coffin. Cremation appears in Period III and becomes the exclusive burial practice in the Late Bronze Age. Cremation burials are also placed in earthen mounds, frequently in ones built in earlier times. Both inhumation and cremation burials may be accompanied by metal – bronze or gold – grave goods. We know from the famous oak coffin burials from the Early Bronze Age (summarized in Glob 1974; also discussed in Coles and Harding 1979: 305–309), with their special preservation of organic materials, that individuals were also buried with clothing and wooden objects. In the cremation burials, the burial goods are frequently not burned but must have been added when the burned bones and ashes were collected. It is typical that larger and more lavish metal items accompany Early Bronze Age burials and smaller and less elaborate objects accompany cremations of the Late Bronze Age, although there are exceptions (for example, the Period IV grave at Lusehøj; Thrane 1984). Metal grave goods may include swords, spear points, axes, neck rings and arm rings, pins and brooches of various kinds, belt ornaments, and tweezers and razors.

There is some Bronze Age rock art in Denmark, found on small boulders or on the capstones of Neolithic megalithic tombs (which may have been understood in the Bronze Age as natural features; Bradley 2000: 156). Motifs include ships, stylized humans, hands, feet, and cup marks. However, large rocks of any kind are infrequent in Denmark and most of the Bronze Age rock art in the region is found in Sweden and Norway where large horizontal or slightly sloping rock faces were used.

The Bronze Age society of Denmark and southern Scandinavia more broadly is widely believed to be hierarchical in some way. I and many others have called it a ranked, middle-level, or chiefdom-level society (*e.g.* Levy 1982). These conclusions were based originally on examination of the burial finds where variation in size of mounds and wealth of grave goods is obvious (*e.g.* Kristiansen 1982, 1991; Randsborg 1974). There is debate on the degree of ranking and I have questioned interpretations (Levy 1995) that emphasize

hierarchy and ignore other kinds of complexity such as lateral differentiation. However, there was certainly some social and economic ranking in these prehistoric communities.

Hoard finds

The last major category of finds from the Scandinavian Bronze Age is the so-called hoard finds, sometimes called votive deposits (“depoter” or “votivfundet” in Danish). These are collections of bronze artefacts (much more rarely, gold) found outside of graves or settlements, frequently but not exclusively in wet places such as bogs. There are over 350 of these hoard finds from within Denmark’s modern borders. Several have come to light in recent years, but the great majority were discovered before 1960 (Kristiansen 1985). In addition, there are thousands of so-called “single finds,” some or many of which may have similar life histories as hoards, but are much harder to analyze because they are, well, single artefacts. I have arbitrarily avoided this category, while focusing on the hoard finds themselves; however, it is likely that some proportion of the single finds were purposeful ritual deposits as well.

There is an enormous literature in European archaeology on the interpretation of hoard finds in general and the Scandinavian ones more particularly. They probably represent a variety of behaviours, but I agree with many scholars that a majority of the Scandinavian ones represent some kind of ritual practice (Bradley 1990, 2000: chap. 4; Levy 1982). Many of the hoards were recovered by nonprofessionals in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Thus, there is often limited contextual information about them and their interpretation is often rather generalized. There is a broad consensus that the ones found in wet contexts are ritual (Figure 7.1), while there is more diversity of opinion about those found in dry contexts (*e.g.* “under a big rock”). For example, Bradley in recent writing (2000: 58) rejects the dichotomy between wet and dry contexts. However, I believe his interpretation is too broad. For the purposes of this paper I will work with the hoards from wet contexts, which predominate in the overall sample and which are most widely accepted as ritual deposits.



Figure. 7.1. Late Bronze Age “ritual well” from southeastern Denmark; author’s photo

from collections of the National Museum of Denmark.

Like the burials, many of the hoard finds contain objects that look like the possessions of individuals: weapons, ornaments and jewellery, and, less frequently, tools. Many of these objects were used before deposition as demonstrated by wear patterns and repairs on the objects (*e.g.* Kristiansen 1978). Other hoards contain objects that seem to have a more communal ceremonial function: cups and feasting equipment, horse gear, occasional figurines, decorative shields and helmets, and the famous paired horns, the lurs. There are more hoards from the Late Bronze Age than from the Early Bronze Age; this trend seems to parallel the development of cremation and the diminution of grave goods. It is clear that a variety of symbolic motifs appear in the hoard finds, both as engraved designs on some bronze objects and as three-dimensional objects. These motifs are similar to ones on regional rock art and include boats, wave motifs, cross-in-circle or sun motifs, stylized humans, snakes, horses, and horned animals (Figure 7.2). Thus, at one scale, burials, hoards, and rock art are separate phenomena with different settings. At another scale, they are to some degree a shared symbolic context, linked by objects and images.



Figure. 7.2. Figurines from Late Bronze Age hoard find from Jutland; author's photo from collections of the National Museum of Denmark. Figure of kneeling female is about 5cm. tall.

Memory and memorialisation

The literature on the archaeology of memory tends to focus on constructed features, on the re-use of architecture and constructions, on the explicit modification of landscape, and on the use of all of these for the purposes of legitimisation of status and identity (for example, Chapman *et al.* 1981; Silverman and Small 2002; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003b). Another perspective is presented by Hamilakis (2002) who focuses on how various sensory experiences, for example of eating and drinking, are relevant to memory and memorialisation. His discussion links to Connerton's (1989) concept of "embodied" memory practices, as briefly discussed below. The more visually obvious manipulation of landscape and constructions are ways for individuals or groups, such as families, lineages, or communities, to tap into the ritual authority of ancestors, nature, and the past. It is easy to imagine that similar things were going on in Bronze Age Denmark whose communities built and used earthen burial mounds, but the hoard deposits appear to be part of a different,

if related, process. There are many ways one could approach the hoard phenomenon within this research tradition. I will look at both context and objects. Traditional archaeological studies of hoards have focused on objects while many studies of sacred landscapes focus on context. It is appropriate to try to bring these approaches together (as does Bradley 2000). In this case study, where constructed features are minimal, objects take on additional significance. Among other things, examination of objects provides a way to incorporate gender into the analysis.

Memorialisation: context

Several archaeologists concerned with processes and landscapes of memory have developed classifications that help organize interpretation. Rowlands (1993), building on Connerton's (1989) and Küchler's (1987) work, proposes two processes of memorialisation: inscribing and incorporating (or embodiment in Connerton's terms). "Inscribing" creates landscapes that are visibly modified by humans and are likely to be more archaeologically recoverable than processes of incorporation. "Incorporating" leaves fewer material remains and may be associated with destruction of objects and with secret rituals that must be remembered because they are not physically marked on the landscape. A somewhat parallel classification is outlined by Knapp and Ashmore (1999) who describe constructed, conceptual, and ideational landscapes. "Constructed" landscapes are similar to inscribed landscapes, visibly modified by human action. "Conceptual" and "ideational" landscapes both have fewer human physical modifications. Yet, where the latter can be investigated through historic, ethnographic, and ethnohistoric evidence, these landscapes are also "created" by humans, but in a symbolic sense rather than through physical modification. Conceptual landscapes are "...given meaning through localized social practice and experience," where powerful meanings are often "invested in natural features rather than in material culture or monuments" (Knapp and Ashmore 1999: 11). Ideational landscapes have a moral or mythic aspect while conceptual landscapes seem to be more affiliated with social relationships in this model.

Bradley (2000) as well emphasizes the importance of unmodified, but culturally salient, natural places as part of a sacred landscape. While he acknowledges difficulties in identifying such places, he is reasonably sanguine about the possibilities. Nevertheless, it is clear that prehistoric memorialisation practices that were inscribed or constructed on a landscape are easier to discover and interpret than those practices that left few visible remains. There are complexities and ambiguities in identifying "conceptual," "incorporating," or "embodied" landscapes or ritually important natural places. Perhaps they were identified in some cases through smell, sound, or senses other than vision. Küchler (1987, 1999) emphasizes how ephemeral sculptures and constructions are used, even as they are destroyed, on New Ireland near New Guinea, to create and even reinforce memories; it is not clear how one might identify such a practice based exclusively on archaeological evidence. Bradley (2000) refers repeatedly to "striking" natural places, such as mountains or unusual rock formations; yet, a judgment of "striking" is clearly a culturally mediated one. Similarly, caves are frequently identified as likely natural places of ritual importance (Bradley 2000; Brady and Ashmore 1999), yet this relies heavily on historic and ethnohistoric evidence (and perhaps modern urban sensibilities). Of course, ethnohistoric evidence is legitimate, but it may not be appropriate or available for a specific prehistoric case. Thus, interpreting the prehistoric hoard finds within models of conceptual or embodied practices and landscapes is intriguing, but frustratingly speculative.

Knapp and Ashmore (1999) also emphasise that these categories are really part of a

continuum. Flag Fen in eastern England may be an example of a point on the continuum between constructed and conceptual. Although at present it is a boggy area without constructed monuments, excavation has revealed a Bronze Age wooden platform and post alignment associated with patterned depositions of metalwork, pottery, and animal bones (Bradley 2000: 51–53, citing research by Francis Pryor). This relatively limited inscription then guided various ritual activities over time, but probably did not survive long after the activities ended. It remains an open question whether such constructions existed in Bronze Age southern Scandinavia.

It is clear that Bronze Age people in southern Scandinavia at times “inscribed” ritual constructions on the landscape. Clusters of Early Bronze Age burial mounds along ridge lines are evidence of this (Figure 7.3). These same burial mounds were reused (by being added on to, not by being re-entered as were some megalithic tombs and Mediterranean tholos tombs [*e.g.* Hamilakis 2002]), both in later phases of the Early Bronze Age and in the Late Bronze Age, following a pattern familiar from several parts of the world of individuals or families apparently laying claim to legitimacy by associating themselves, through their dead, with older ritual monuments. Human social arrangements were legitimised through a kind of naturalisation: linking them visibly with landscape and, in fact, with land, that is earth mounded up into burial structures. But what is happening with the hoards seems to be different.



Figure. 7.3. Bronze Age burial mounds in eastern Denmark; author's photo.

Memorialisation: objects

Bradley (2000: 35) suggests that one way to identify ritually important natural places is through patterned deposition of special objects in these places. This tactic is clearly congruent with traditional understandings of the south Scandinavian hoard finds, especially the ones from wet places: that is, the combination of wet places with deposits of special artefacts yields the interpretation of ritual behaviour. There is a risk here that Bradley does not always escape, of circular reasoning: special places are identified by the deposit of special objects, while special objects are identified by their deposition in special places.

Thus, it is worthwhile to examine objects directly in order to propose what might make them “special,” independent of, as much as possible, their depositional context.

This examination of the hoard objects as items of memory and memorialisation can be linked to work on the significance of exotic raw materials (Helms 1988), to writing on the “cultural biography” of objects (Gosden and Marshall 1999; Kopytoff 1986), to discussion of the use of heirlooms (Lillios 1999), and to discussion of inalienable objects (Lesure 1999; Mills 2004; Weiner 1985, 1992). There is a noticeable amount of overlap between these approaches to understanding the social, sensual, and spiritual significance of objects. For the purposes of this paper, I will not discuss the first topic, raw materials; however, clearly the sensual characteristics of metals and their origins in far-away places were both important for the multiple roles of the hoard objects, as I have discussed elsewhere (Levy 1999).

Lesure (1999) has pointed out that there is frequently not a clear contrast between ritual and secular objects or between elite and non-elite objects; objects, like people, can fulfil multiple roles in daily life and ritual life. Another way to put this is that objects, like people, have biographies (Gosden and Marshall 1999; Kopytoff 1986; Lillios 1999): just as people move through different stages and roles in a life course, objects as well have different meanings and fulfil different functions at different times. This is true with the bronze and gold objects of Bronze Age burials and hoards. The hoard objects were produced, distributed, and used, probably both in daily life and in special ceremonies. Some were probably redistributed and reused over time, although others appear to have had much less use. A few never completed the first, production, stage of their biography. For example, a few Late Bronze Age “hanging vessels” (actually elaborate belt ornaments) have been found still enclosed in the original molds (Levy 1991); they were deposited before being completed. Ultimately (like anything that becomes an archaeological artefact), the hoard items were deposited, whereupon they enter a life stage of memories. If we look at appearance, decoration, raw material, production technology, function(s), and find context of the objects, it is clear that they fulfilled multiple social and symbolic roles: at the least economic wealth, marks of social position and prestige, and representations of important symbols and values.

In terms of economic value, the metal objects are either themselves imported from distant places or, more commonly, made from imported raw materials that were procured by technology requiring subsurface mining. They are produced by a complex technology that was not available in every home (Levy 1991), unlike the production of stone tools. So, they are “expensive” in some sense. As both the objects and the sets of objects vary in size and technological complexity, there must have been a gradient or gradients of value; Lesure (1999) suggests that just such objects with gradients of value are appropriate for important social and symbolic roles.

Beyond economic value, the hoard objects have meaning in terms of social status and prestige. The sets of objects are ranked to some degree (Levy 1982), suggesting variation in social rank; as Lesure (1999: 24) points out, ranked or graded objects are “fertile sources of metaphors for evaluating people.” In addition, some of the hoard objects had gender affiliations during their use lives. Evidence from Early Bronze Age inhumation graves and from figurines demonstrates that some of the bronze and gold objects were preferentially associated with men and some with women (Levy 2006; Stig-Sørensen 1991). It is also possible that more than two genders were represented although this is a topic beyond the current paper (Levy 2006: 234–235). Some of the objects were available to both women and men, at least based on the mortuary evidence, and some seem to be communal and not

gendered. In the Late Bronze Age, women's objects increased in quantity and visibility in the hoards. Beyond gender, it is possible that various sets of ornaments and other objects denoted different categories of age, marriage, and/or kinship status (Levy 2006; Stig-Sørensen 1991).

Finally, in addition to being objects of wealth and objects of social position, these objects are also what Annette Weiner (1985, 1992) calls inalienable objects. Building on earlier work by Mauss, Weiner defines inalienable objects as those with ideological power that do not circulate or circulate only in restricted conditions. They are "priceless" in the sense that they are too valuable to participate in ordinary exchange. Inalienable objects materialize both history and identity: no matter who handles them, they retain a link to their original owner. Similarly, Lillios (1999: 236) points out that heirlooms "serve to objectify memories and histories..." and "remind the living of their link to a distant, ancestral past."

Heirlooms and inalienable objects are not identical, but they share the quality of a link to the past. Heirlooms are supposed to move from generation to generation, while, in principle, inalienable objects rarely circulate. In cases where inalienable objects do circulate in limited fashion by gift or inheritance, they are supposed to ultimately come back to their original possessor (individual or kin group). Kula valuables in the Trobriand Islands are the classic example. Weiner says that true and complete inalienability is difficult to accomplish, but obviously placing objects in burials or in bogs would accomplish this.

Lesure (1999) and Mills (2004) develop Weiner's concept to discuss inalienable objects from an archaeological perspective. They point out that there can be both individual and communal inalienable objects used within the same community. This is true ethnographically and archaeologically in the American Southwest, as Mills discusses, and it appears to be true in Bronze Age Denmark as well. She suggests that inalienable objects can be identified archaeologically both through material qualities (*e.g.* distinctive designs, specialized manufacturing technology, symbolic representations, sometimes rare raw materials) and through context (limited depositional setting); the objects from Bronze Age hoards fit many of these criteria.

In addition, Mills suggests that inalienable objects will be used in various ceremonies, both individual and communal. In this regard, there is an association between some of the hoard finds and evidence of food preparation and serving, including bones of domesticated animals (see Figure 7.1), sickles, and cups, dippers, and cauldrons. These seem to represent associations with feasting that would be part of communal ceremonies. The find information is not complete enough to judge the strength of the association between feasting and hoards, but the association is relatively common.

The concept of inalienable objects, which pass from hand to hand but always maintain an original identity, is also congruent with the idea that objects have biographies, as well as with the concept of heirlooms. It is possible that the Bronze Age objects were passed down through a couple of generations; in fact, I think it is likely that the biographies of some objects included limited circulation through inheritance and gift. There are differing degrees of wear on objects from the hoards (for example, on the pommels of Early Bronze Age swords or the curved surface of Late Bronze Age hanging vessels), and some objects have repairs (for example on the slots through which belt ornaments were attached). It is unclear if heavy wear is due to an individual's long life or an object being passed down the generations (or, perhaps, both in some cases); however, the wear patterns show that some of the objects were in use longer than others. In contrast, some objects must have circulated hardly at all, at least based on their virtually pristine and unused surfaces. Of those that did have longer use lives, they did not circulate for terribly long periods of time because we do

not find, for example, Period III objects in Period V hoards. At some point in their life courses, they are removed from circulation, display, and human control through deposition. We are inclined to think that the deposition took place at the time of death of the person owning or controlling the objects, but in fact we do not really know this. It is less obvious than with the burial goods. Weiner (1985: 211) points out that such final separation from human control defines true inalienability, and may be more common in more hierarchical societies than in less hierarchical ones. However, this kind of deposition has social risks: "Once buried, they no longer can be displayed publicly at appropriate times..." (Weiner 1985: 219). Yet, ultimate removal or destruction of important objects can be part of rituals of incorporating or embodiment that emphasize memories in the absence of monuments, as Campbell (2006) and Küchler (1987) have both discussed with reference to ethnographic cases in the Pacific region.

Memory practices in Bronze Age hoards

Given these theoretical backgrounds about both context and objects, I shall turn back to the specific archaeological record of the south Scandinavian Bronze Age hoards. What can we say about the context of the hoard finds, especially the ones in bogs and wet places? First of all, there is a long tradition of bog deposits (Figure 7.4). Beginning in the Early Neolithic, south Scandinavian people made apparently purposeful and structured deposits of finely polished axes and pottery vessels (presumably originally holding food) in bogs. This tradition of bog deposition continues in the Bronze Age and into the Iron Age; in the Roman period Tacitus, circa 100 AD, famously reported about Germanic tribes sacrificing the statue of a goddess, her ritual carriage, and her human acolytes in a lake:



Figure. 7.4. Bog in southern Sweden used for deposits in different periods; author's photo.

On an island of the sea stands an inviolate grove, in which, veiled with a cloth, is a chariot that none but the priest may touch...until the goddess, when she has had enough of the society of men, is restored to her sacred precinct by the priest. After that, the chariot, the vestments, and

(believe it if you will) the goddess herself are cleansed in a secluded lake. This service is performed by slaves who are immediately afterwards drowned in the lake (Tacitus: *Germania*, chap. 40).

In fact, through the medieval period and early modern period, there are known ritual springs throughout Denmark. As late as the end of the 19th century, there is evidence of folklore beliefs in healing properties of certain springs, now associated with Christian saints (Schmidt 1926).

This long tradition could be an alternative to monument construction as a method of tapping into the past: return to a sacred location and perform a ritual that “quotes,” so to speak, earlier depositions. However, while the practice of bog deposits is very long-lived, it is not continuous. For example, there is a gap of several hundred years between the Early Neolithic and Middle Neolithic bog deposits and those of the Bronze Age. Furthermore, the types of objects change dramatically. In the Neolithic, the deposits are quite homogeneous – polished stone axes, chipped stone sickles, and pottery – while in the Bronze Age almost all of the deposited objects are metal (occasionally amber and occasionally a large ceramic vessel holds the metal objects), and there are many more artefact types. Yet, it seems unlikely that people of different periods coincidentally re-invented a ritual practice of bog deposits, especially when certain locales were re-used for depositions in different periods. For example, Stjernquist (1993) reports on excavations at what she calls a “cult spring” in southern Sweden that is used intermittently from Early Neolithic until the Early Medieval period.

In the absence of texts, it must be that oral tradition played an important role here and that some memory of the spiritual power of these places (these “ideational landscapes,” one could say, following Knapp and Ashmore) was passed from generation to generation in the absence of a visible marker. However, it is difficult to figure out how this worked in its cultural particulars. One possibility is a link between bogs or other wet places and ideas about multiple tiers of the universe: a lower, middle, and upper world. This motif is known ethnographically in several parts of the world, and the different tiers are frequently associated with different animal figures. It is probably risky to apply this model to any specific archaeological case just because it exists in many different places. However, Viking period (c. 800–1050 AD) mythology in southern Scandinavia (Sørensen 1997) and historic Saami mythology in northernmost Scandinavia (Bradley 2000) include variations of this model, so it is not unreasonable to suggest it was an old idea in the region. The animal imagery found on Bronze Age metal objects, either as stylised engraved designs or, much more rarely, as figurines, may include references to these tiers of the universe. The most common animal motifs are birds (upper world), horned animals and horses (middle world), and snakes (lower world) (see Figure 7.2).

In this case, the creation of burial mounds and the deposition of bog hoards could be ritual acts that focused on different tiers of the universe, presumably calling upon and/or memorializing different spiritual beings or powers. In the Viking model, the different tiers of the universe are linked together by a “World Tree” growing through them; Lars Larsson of Lund University suggested, when this paper was originally presented, that communities that made bog deposits could also have planted distinctive trees, thus “inscribing” ritual on an otherwise conceptual or ideational landscape. Another possibility that can be linked to a model of a three-tiered universe is to suggest that bogs were recognized over very long periods as liminal spaces, not inhabited and not cultivated, but present within the experienced landscape. Bradley (2000: 133) suggests that coastlines are liminal: between land and sea. In his view, this is at least one reason why so much rock art is found along the

Scandinavian coasts. It is easy to conceptualize bogs as liminal spaces as well: not exactly land and not exactly water. However, again we run the risk of imposing modern conceptions on the past. There is no easy way to escape this. Perhaps bogs were striking places in Bradley's sense, although they look rather flat, open, and indistinctive to us today. They were wet to a greater or lesser degree, which differentiates them from village or field. But, after all, this is northern Europe, not North Africa or the southwestern United States: how striking or unusual could "wet" be? I am more inclined to think that these spaces were liminal in the sense of being outside of intensively occupied and cultivated land, edges used only occasionally perhaps for grazing.

A third process to consider is the importance of other sensory experiences to memory practices. Hamilakis (2002: 124) suggests that experiences of sound, smell, and taste will activate memories as well as, or, in his view, perhaps better than visual stimuli: "The sensory stimulations and effects activated by eating are stored in the body, generating bodily memories, which can be recalled and re-activated by similar experiences and sensory processes." The association of hoard artefacts with evidence of food and feasting, as well as the presence of the dramatic sound-making instruments, the lurs, suggest these processes might have played a role in the continuity of ritual deposits in the absence of distinctive inscribed landscapes. On the one hand, new feasting events might recall past events that had deposited pottery beakers, bronze cups, animal bones, or lurs; on the other hand, it is not clear how these sensory experiences, if infrequent, might bridge multiple years and generations. It is a topic that deserves future examination.

Thus, we also have to ask how often an individual or a community experienced the ceremonial deposition. If we consider the known recovered hoards as a reasonably large sample of all the ones originally deposited (but we do not know how large a sample) and measure them against the years of the Bronze Age and the geography of the region, it seems likely that no one saw very many of these events. Certainly, in the Early Bronze Age, the rate might have been as low as once a generation per community, while in Periods IV and V, it might have been once every ten years. The ceremonies might have been exceedingly important and intensively commemorated through song, story, and feast but, especially in the Early Bronze Age, they cannot have been very frequent. It is also unclear how many people might have observed any of these depositions. Thus, our understanding of the details of these rituals remains speculative. However, in the absence of visible monuments, it is very likely that oral tradition was the glue that held the system together. The potential fluidity of oral traditions is relevant to our understanding of these rituals, as discussed further below.

Such oral tradition communicated that these locales are ritually significant and that they were so far back in the past. While construction of burial mounds may "naturalise" the dead, the deposit of hoards may "culturise" the bogs, perhaps mediating their liminal status. There is ethnographic evidence that detailed oral traditions fade and are modified within 200 years (discussed in Bradley 2002). In the Scandinavian case, the effectiveness of these oral traditions would require maintenance of only one key point: the ancient spiritual power of a place. The specifics of ancestors, spirits, gods, symbols, or ideology might well have been lost, but a sense of spiritual significance would remain. To re-use these locales would link an individual, family, or community to the past, to nature, to mystery. Thus, there would be at least two options for rituals of memorialisation: burial mounds that are solid and visible (inscribed practice or constructed landscape) and bog deposits that vanish and leave no obvious visible marker (incorporated or embodied practice, or conceptual or ideational landscape). Why might one choose one or the other?

It is likely that both pragmatic and spiritual factors played roles. Different schools of archaeological thought tend to emphasize one or the other, but human societies are influenced by both. The choice between mound or bog may have been related to some culturally specific reasons having to do with conceptions of different supernatural beings (with mound or bog differentially linked to the tiers of the universe), but this is almost impossible to confirm in the prehistoric case. Alternatively, bog deposits might be less costly in economic terms. They certainly take less cultivatable land out of use than building an earthen mound out of turf, and they do not require piles of logs to create cremation fires. They also take less labour than either barrow inhumations or cremation.

One key difference between mounds and bogs, already noted, is the degree of visibility. Mounds are there, visible, dominating the landscape. Without a large amount of work, one cannot remove them from the social and ritual landscape: not only can you incorporate them into later practices, you almost have to. In contrast, the bog deposits disappear; as bogs expand and shrink, it will be rapidly unknown where the deposits are or even if there are any in the vicinity. Even planted trees may last only a generation or two, especially if moisture conditions change. Nevertheless, while bogs, ponds, and other wet places are visibly less salient on the landscape than mounds, they have other distinctive qualities that might make them stand out within the environment. They may have distinctive smells or sounds produced by birds and other animals attracted to water. Bogs, in my experience, are noticeably “bouncy” to walk across (although not as wet on the surface as a modern urbanite expected). It is probably useful to expand our understanding of prehistoric perceptions of the landscape beyond the impact of vision, as Hamilakis (2002) suggests, but it is easier in the modern world to establish the impact of specific visible material remains than the impact of more ephemeral sense experiences. On the one hand, the lack of visible saliency of bogs and wet places makes for difficulties in inscribing memorialisation on the landscape. On the other hand, this makes re-interpretation of ritual, symbol, and meaning much easier. I will return to this point later.

Additionally, there is the question of a gendered landscape. Ashmore (2006) points out numerous ethnographic and historic cases where different landscape features are conceptualised as having different gender affiliations. Male mountains and female caves are an obvious example. Bradley (2000: 60) suggests that coastal cliffs (engraved with numerous representations of males) in southern Scandinavia were male during the Bronze Age, while bogs (enclosing many female objects) were female. This is appealing, but it is also uncomfortably close to modern ideologies; there is a high risk of reading our own dichotomies back into the past. The bogs do hold a lot of Late Bronze Age female-associated objects, but they also hold male objects and those that were associated with both (or more) genders and with groups rather than with individuals. Rather than being dichotomously gendered, these locales had layers of meaning; like inalienable objects that materialize history and identity, the bog locales were places “trailing long histories” (Silverman 2002: 3) of women, men, and communities.

Discussion

How can we link together these different aspects: wealth, prestige, gender, symbol, identity, and landscape? Mills (2004) suggests that inalienable objects can contribute both to the establishment of hierarchy and the defeat of hierarchy. This fits with my understanding of the social systems of Bronze Age Denmark (Levy 2006). While these social systems are non-egalitarian in some way, they are not, in my opinion, highly stratified. There are apparently individuals with significant power and authority, for example the person buried

in the large Period IV mound at Lusehøj (Thrane 1984). Many of these individuals are apparently male (although direct osteological evidence is skimpy), and swords and arms were important markers of power. But the shifting of centres of wealth, along with the complex ranking of personal objects found in the bog deposits, suggests a more flexible, shifting social system especially in the later Bronze Age. It is a system that depended on ritual, performance, and ceremonial display for power and legitimacy, as much as or even more than depending on control of land and labour. For example, in Bronze Age southern Scandinavia, there were no fortifications or field systems that would suggest centralized control of land and labour, although both of these phenomena show up later in the Iron Age.

In his discussion of power, Eric Wolf suggests there are four levels of power, beginning with “power as the attribute of the person, as potency or capability...” (Wolf 1990: 586). He points out that in all societies, even highly structured and non-egalitarian societies, authority or power can be challenged. Where symbolic action plays an important role in maintaining legitimacy, such as in middle-level or chiefdom-type societies, the process of negotiating power is fluid: “The cultural assertion that the world is shaped in this way and not in some other has to be repeated and enacted, lest it be questioned and denied” (Wolf 1990: 593). The “world is shaped” both in the sense of how social roles are structured and in the sense of how the natural world is structured. The category of hoards includes finds that seem to represent both senses.

The well-known Trundholm “sun chariot” (illustrated widely, including plate 12a in Coles and Harding 1979), with the two sides of the “sun disc” apparently representing day and night, is a notable example of an object that represents an understanding of the structure of the universe. Kaul (1998) suggests that the many images of boats, both on rock art and engraved on bronze objects, represent similar ideas about the structure of the cosmos (*i.e.*, the sun travelling through the sky). If different animal images are indeed associated with a concept of a three-tiered universe, the manipulation of those images during ritual would also be a contribution to establishing understandings of how the natural world is shaped. At the same time, the appearance of these motifs on objects worn and displayed by specific individuals would contribute to maintaining a particular version of the social world.

It is striking that this focus on action and performance is congruent with a range of ideas in the literature about the performance and embodiment of gender, as well as with discussion about reusing both natural features and human monuments to repeatedly lay claim to authority and legitimacy. Agency, action, and performance are relevant to creation of gender, landscape, and memories.

As Mills (2005) suggests, the control and display of inalienable objects strengthens hierarchy as individuals demonstrate their personal links to powerful history, thus strengthening individual rank. Similarly, Lillios (1999: 236) notes that possession and display of heirlooms contributes to social differentiation. Regarding the personal objects in the hoards, such display also “embodies” aspects of gender, age, lineage, and marital status. I am inclined to think that these memorialisations are focused on and manipulated by individuals rather than by corporate kin groups such as lineages. This is in contrast to a variety of case studies that consider communal megalithic tombs. However, individuals and families also establish rank through control and display of communal objects, especially through feasting that creates obligation among others in the community. The presence of communal objects in the bogs, such as the lurs, would recall the events (ceremonial processions?) in which they were used, as well as the rock carvings that represented those events.

What does seem clear is that through time, the memorialisation of women through this

particular ritual becomes more important. I would argue that women become honoured ancestors or actors with power worth tapping in to. However, although many of the hoard objects materially embody an individual, actual bodies – male, female, or other – are apparently not significant. There are no “bog bodies” from the Bronze Age, as there are, famously, from the later Iron Age. Although humans are frequently represented in Bronze Age rock art, these images are generalized and do not represent individuals, as far as we can tell. During the Late Bronze Age, the body itself is effaced through universal cremation.

However, the ornament and weapon sets are distinctively individual. Although each object falls within a familiar stylistic template, each object is unique (with the exception of axes and sickles that appear to have been produced in multiples). This focus on distinctive body ornament but effacement of actual bodies, especially from Period III onward, may mean that the social position was more important than the individual, or that the social persona was more important than the living, feeling body. In very simplified terms: gender was more important than sex. This would fit with the concept of inalienable objects, where the history of the object is more important than any individual body that might temporarily control or display it. It also suggests that multiple individuals participated in social and ritual performance (rather than the limited category of “chiefs” who receive so much attention). But how this all fits in with the developing social system remains a complex question. Susan Gillespie (2002) makes an intriguing point in reference to the Maya that “social persons” have both material components such as body, dress, and ornament, as well as immaterial components such as souls, names, and rights. There are intriguing parallels with the case of elaborate but ephemeral mortuary sculptures in Melanesia described by Küchler (1987, 1999); these are destroyed shortly after being completed, but they are essential for the ritual transmission of both names and esoteric knowledge. It is tempting to suggest that such immaterial components, especially names and rights, are connected to the hoard deposits that, especially in the Late Bronze Age, seem to memorialize the social persona but not the body itself. However, for Bronze Age Scandinavia, we are lacking the ethnohistoric and ethnographic evidence that strengthens Gillespie’s and Küchler’s discussions.

In such a system, one can imagine that one strategy for manipulating status is making links to the past, to the names and powers of ancestors, and to mysterious and perhaps dangerous areas of landscape: thus claiming, as Wolf says, that “the world is shaped in this way and not some other,” socially and cosmologically. This still leaves the question of why someone might choose to implement this strategy through bog deposits rather than through burial mounds. Here, the work of Roy Rappaport on the nature of symbolism and ritual may be illuminating. Rappaport (1971), more than 35 years ago, suggested that ritual and symbolism are often cryptic, that is secret, ambiguous, and mysterious, weighted with multiple meanings. Further, Rappaport explained that there are very good reasons why this is so. Participation in and association with ritual sanctifies individuals and social processes by linking humans, technology, land, and social action to sacred statements: that is, statements that are unquestionably true. The linkage occurs actively through ritual ceremonies where sacred statements are recited, materialized, represented, or acted out. The linkage among humans, social acts, and sacred statements contributes to trust, social solidarity, and a necessary faith in the actions of others and, therefore, encourages an essential level of orderliness in social life (Rappaport 1971: 69).

However, Rappaport continued, there must also be a mechanism for change, to respond to changing ecological conditions as he was most interested in, or to respond to changing social conditions. Thus, the importance of the cryptic quality of sacred statements as

expressed in symbolism and ritual. This is implicitly recognized by many archaeologists who understand that succeeding generations reinterpret inscribed or constructed ritual landscapes (*e.g.* Bradley 2003: 224; Knapp and Ashmore 1999: 19). It is Rappaport who suggests why this cryptic quality is so important in social systems: “If a proposition is going to be taken as unquestionably true, it is important that no one understands it. Lack of understanding insures frequent reinterpretation” (Rappaport 1971: 71). In the fluid social systems of Bronze Age Denmark, ritual works effectively because it can be reinterpreted. And, I would argue, the rituals connected to bogs are more cryptic and, thus, more easily reinterpreted than those connected to either burial mounds or rock art.

This perspective links to Mills’s point that inalienable objects not only contribute to establishing hierarchy, but to defeating hierarchy, as well as to Hamilakis’s point (2002: 131) that “...sensory bodily processes could have also led to the challenging of hierarchy.” The ritual process of deposition helps an individual or family assert authority and influence, but of course once the deposition is completed, the powerful objects are gone: “...a system of checks and balances to individual aggrandizement and personal gain” (Mills 2004: 248). The objects and their past possessors are presumably referred to through oral traditions (and perhaps commemorated in later feasts), but oral traditions are malleable. The presence of visible burial mounds or rock art panels will anchor oral tradition in a powerfully material way. Bogs, however, are themselves ever-changing. They provide a venue where re-interpretation is easier to accomplish. They expand and shrink, they shift vegetation seasonally and over generations; the objects themselves vanish from sight early on. Their power remains, but the meaning and affiliation of that power are more easily manipulated than that of far more permanent burial mounds and cliffaces.

In addition, perhaps a ritual that lacked the construction of monuments had a pragmatic use: you could more easily ignore the sacredness of such a “noninscribed” landscape and just use it for practical purposes, such as grazing cattle. While we do not want to read modern utilitarianism and profit motives back onto prehistoric societies, equally we should not assume that ritual and ceremony were necessarily always more important in past societies than in the present. That would be a kind of “primitivising” of the past and may be a result of modern Rousseauian yearnings for a less material and more spiritual world.

Equally, this Bronze Age ritual practice seems appropriate for a fluid social system in which many individuals were negotiating both vertical (*e.g.* status and power) relationships and horizontal (*e.g.* gender, kin group, labour) relationships. The Neolithic bog deposits differed in that their contents were more homogeneous; Lesure (1999) suggests that this pattern occurs in social systems with less hierarchy and less competition for status. In the following Bronze Age, it appears that the bog deposits are associated with more social competition, represented by more diverse kinds of deposits. It appears that such fluid negotiation increases in the Late Bronze Age and then falls off dramatically at the end of the Bronze Age when artefact types, burial practices, and votive deposits all change.

As noted before, the Bronze Age burials, bog deposits, and rock art are interconnected through shared artefacts, representations of artefacts, and engraved motifs. They each reflect a different kind of performance, as groups and individuals negotiate identity, status, and belief. Both monuments and performances create memories, differing in the visibility and permanence of the material remains left behind. As Knapp and Ashmore (1999: 6) say: “There are multiple different ways of ‘knowing’ the earth and the socially recognized places upon it.” The diversity of ways of performing ritual and creating memories in the south Scandinavian Bronze Age suggests fluidity in social roles and interactions, a complexity that is not hierarchical in any simple way, but incorporates economic, social, and spiritual

diversity in both vertical and horizontal dimensions.

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Memory maps: The mnemonics of Central European Iron Age burial mounds

Bettina Arnold

Social memory, identity and death are fundamentally linked in many cultures. Concepts of community, territoriality, hierarchy and identity are often inscribed in the mortuary record in patterned ways, both within cemeteries and within the burial monuments themselves. The association between burial mounds and the evolution of social inequality that can be seen in the archaeological record of numerous cultures deserves closer attention, since the practice of marking the landscape with such monuments appears to accompany certain developmental requirements that may be largely independent of cultural context. The mounds of the late Hallstatt period differ in several respects from earlier mound-building episodes in European prehistory, such as the Middle Bronze Age monuments with their usually individual central interments. Late Hallstatt mounds range widely in size and number of burials, from one to over 100 interments and may be up to 100m in diameter. The internal arrangement of mound burials also varies in what appear to be meaningful ways, within mounds and cemeteries as well as between them, with variations in the layout of burials with respect to the central interment, in terms of gender ratio and possibly with respect to place of birth or post-marital residence. More recent excavations of larger mounds have revealed traces of structures that appear to have acted as guides to the placement of later burials, and the position of mounds in the landscape, relative to other landscape features, settlements and each other, is purposive but not predictable, suggesting that such monuments functioned as a coded mnemonic system whose significance could be recognized, but whose message could not necessarily be read, by other groups. This paper will focus on the phenomenon of early Iron Age (700–400 BC) mortuary monuments in west-central Europe, particularly in southwest Germany, viewed against the cross-cultural phenomenon of burial mounds as a form of spatial memory marker.



Figure 8.1. View of the Danube Plain from the Heuneburg with the Bronze Age hillfort of the Bussen in the distance.

Introduction: of anima loci and Heimweh

“Wenn wir uns an einem klaren Sommertag zum annähernd 600m hohen südöstlichen Eckpunkt

der Heuneburg begeben und den Blick in die Runde schweifen lassen, dann bietet sich uns ein Bild von eindrucksvoller Großartigkeit. Nach Osten zu – zu unseren Füßen – breitet sich, runde 60m tiefer, die hier fast 4km breite Donauebene, heute eine lachende Ackerflur von fruchtbarer Schwere” (Kimmig 1983: 39–40). [If we make our way on a clear summer’s day to the roughly 600 metre high south-eastern corner of the Heuneburg and scan the horizon, we are presented with an impressively spectacular picture. Toward the east – at our feet – the Danube Plain extends, almost 60 metres below us, a laughing arable landscape of fruitful heaviness that is almost four kilometres in width at this spot today. (Author’s translation)]

If one stands where Wolfgang Kimmig stood when he described this view across the Danube plain from the early Iron Age Heuneburg, with the Bronze Age hillfort on the Bussen to the east the most prominent feature for many miles (Figure 8.1), the impression is that of a landscape that is simultaneously present and past, with here and then juxtaposed and suspended in a tranquil, pastoral now. The language Kimmig uses in this passage from the 1983 guidebook to the Heuneburg and its landscape is unusually poetic for an archaeological text, interrupted only by quantifications of distance – metres above sea level, view shed and altitude. Especially interesting is his choice of words in describing the panorama he invites us to contemplate, unrolling below him like a yellow-green carpet of rapeseed, wheat and barley. He first anthropomorphizes the landscape by ascribing to it a human emotion, laughter, and then feminizes it in his reference to its “fruitful heaviness”. Kimmig here articulates and memorializes a perception of and attachment to a particular natural and cultural landscape in a way that many archaeologists experience but few describe in professional contexts. He almost appears to invoke a smiling goddess of the place, an *anima loci*, an incantation represented in the use of allusive language.

Memorial palimpsests

In some ways the anthropomorphising of the site and its surroundings is appropriate, since the Heuneburg region is an intensively managed landscape, a cultural artefact of millennia of human activity that only appears to the casual observer to be both natural and timeless, in the sense of transcending time. This is a place densely populated by the ghosts of prehistory, where each turn of the field path or forest service logging trail may reveal an enormous burial mound standing solitary among drainage ditches or a scatter of roof tiles in a recently ploughed field marks the foundations of a Roman villa. The phenomenon of the landscape palimpsest, in which archaeological sites serve as memory maps for multiple time periods simultaneously, is characteristic of most European countries. Stuart McLean (2003) invokes the work of Walter Benjamin (1999) in his analysis of the Neolithic site of Céide Fields in County Clare, Ireland, a cultural landscape that was literally swallowed by a natural one in the form of a gradually encroaching peat bog. McClean argues that in a sense “the past is never fully past, but remains rather subliminally contemporaneous with the present in the guise of these buried traces” (2003: 60). Language was, for Benjamin, the site of excavation, acting as “the medium of that which is experienced, just as the earth is the medium in which ancient cities lie buried” (Benjamin 1999: 576 cited in McLean 2003: 60). The Heuneburg landscape, like Céide Fields, has been a locus for actual as well as linguistic excavation and memorialisation of the past since at least the early Iron Age, as I will demonstrate below.

Compared to the local population, the archaeologists who have dedicated their research energies to this landscape since initial excavations were conducted in the burial mounds near the hillfort in the mid-19th century have been transients, merely passing through. For the community especially of Hundesingen, the small town that shares the bluff above the

river with the Iron Age hillfort, the Heuneburg as a World Heritage site has tremendous symbolic as well as economic significance. Community members have been active participants in all the excavations conducted here, have organized themselves into a society dedicated to the preservation and study of the hillfort and its surrounding cultural landscape, and have recently taken over management of the open air museum on the hillfort plateau as well as the Heuneburg Museum in Hundersingen. Memorialisation of the settlement as well as the mortuary landscape over time by archaeologists and the community has taken various forms over the years.

Arguably the first conscious recent efforts in this direction came after World War II when the Hohmichele, the second largest burial mound in Europe, was reconstructed in 1957 after being partially excavated by Gustav Riek in 1937/1938. The reconstructed mound rises to an impressive height of just under 13 metres and is roughly 80 metres in diameter; long grass and purple lupines cover it today, and a set of steps allows visitors to ascend to the summit, where a stone marker was erected as a memorial commemorating those members of the Württemberg Forest Service who fell during World War II. A circle of beech trees was planted around the marker, which was placed where the Iron Age stone stelae once stood whose foundations Riek recorded in his excavations, and herds of wild boar forage for beech nuts there in the fall, leaving their prints and snout marks in the leaf mold of the summit. The unexcavated portions of the mound presumably still contain some early Iron Age interments, but the reconstructed monument with its WWII memorial also serves as a cenotaph commemorating local casualties of that war. To date, German prehistoric archaeology has not made explicit use of memory studies (with some notable exceptions [Holtorf 1997, 1998, 2001]), but archaeological parks like the Heuneburg landscape would provide fruitful ground for such an approach to interpretation, as the Hohmichele example illustrates. In a sense, the local community has produced its own selective memory map of the area in the form of reconstructions of above ground archaeological features like mounds as well as portions of the hillfort fortification system and its Iron Age habitation structures (Figure 8.2).

Traversing the past: commemoration and commodification

A system of signboards along an archaeological hiking trail was laid out after the Heuneburg Museum was established in a restored tithing barn in Hundersingen in the early 1980s; approximately eight kilometres in length (Figure 8.2), the trail is marked by a Silenus head symbol taken from a mould for a drinking vessel handle terminal found during excavations. The path takes visitors past the hillfort as well as the Hohmichele and other burial mound groups within a three and a half kilometre radius of the site (<http://www.dhm.de/museen/heuneburg/>). Two of the four large mounds closest to the hillfort were reconstructed after being re-excavated in the late 1980s, and a portion of the mudbrick wall fortification system was reconstructed on the hillfort plateau together with several buildings that form the core of the open-air museum established in the late 1990s (<http://www.heuneburg.de/>). The most noticeable features of this archaeological landscape are the burial mounds; the dead have left their mark especially in the forested parcels, while in open, ploughed fields very few traces of once numerous mortuary monuments are now visible. Two of these mounds were the focus of the “Landscape of Ancestors” project initiated in the late 1990s in cooperation with the Tübingen branch of the Landesdenkmalamt supported by several grants from the National Geographic Society, NEH and the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Graduate School (Arnold *et al.* 2000, 2001, 2003) (<http://www.uwm.edu/~barnold/arch/index.html>). Both mounds excavated by

the “Landscape of Ancestors” project between 1999 and 2002 were reconstructed following excavation, and are now part of the archaeological hiking trail, with elaborate signboards marking their location (Figure 8.3). One of the motivations for the project was the fact that relatively few mounds had been systematically investigated, and those had all been over 50m in diameter. Little was known about the range of mound types or the relationship between mounds within the same mound group.

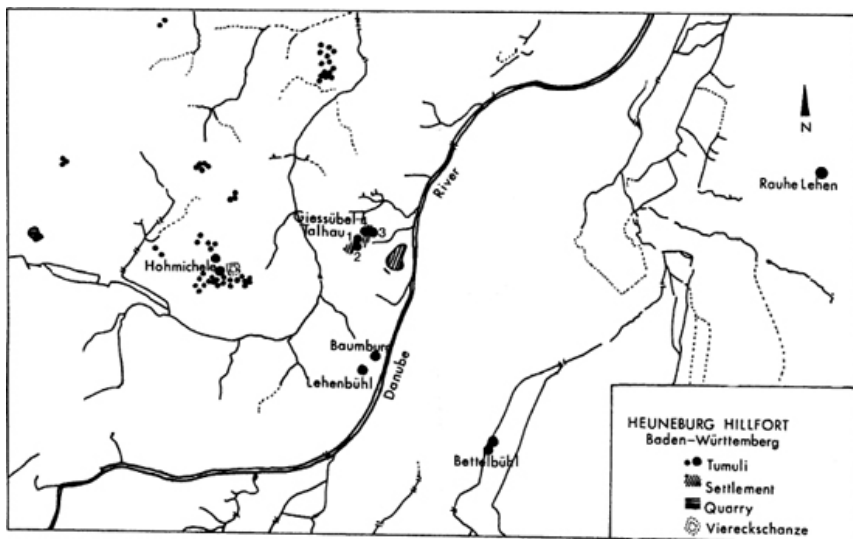


Figure 8.2. The Heuneburg and its surrounding burial mounds.

Mounds as mortuary monuments and memory markers

Mounds thought to contain human interments are usually represented as communicating two primary messages: in memoriam and RIP. The assumption that a conical or truncated pile of earth, sod, stone or a combination of these materials must have had a commemorative purpose as well as a mortuary function is almost as ubiquitous as the monuments themselves. Mounds containing human remains are found worldwide, in contexts ranging from Asia to the Americas, and indeed they appear to be strikingly similar when viewed superficially on the basis of form. In fact, however, the variations are considerable, and one of the main commonalities is that so few of these constructions have actually been systematically excavated that their interpretation typically rests on a limited number of investigated examples.



Figure 8.3. The author standing in front of the two signboards for Tumulus 17 and 18 along the archaeological hiking trail around the Heuneburg.

While such monuments may not need to be explained in areas of the world where oral tradition ties contemporary groups directly to the archaeological record, in Iron Age Europe the introduction of Christianity effectively represented such a complete break with orally transmitted, pre-Christian traditions that interpretation is impossible without recourse to archaeological investigation. The break with the pagan past, especially its mortuary traditions, was made explicitly as early as 775 AD, when Charlemagne decreed that Christian Saxons should no longer be buried in “*tumulus paganorum*”, as had been the common practice up to that time, but should be interred in hallowed ground, “*ad cimiteria ecclesiae*” (Sippel 1980: 139). Numerous place names represent variations on the “pagan” or non-Christian association with archaeological sites throughout Germany, as toponyms like *Hexenbühl* (witch’s mound), or *Heuneburg* (from *Hünenburg*, giant’s or pagan’s castle) demonstrate. Such mounds are classified and described in the archaeological literature based on how long it took to build them, their physical features, how many graves of what type are found in them, how they are distributed across the landscape, *etc.*, while in general their presumed functions are based on an extremely small sample of systematically investigated examples. The mounds of the early Iron Age dating to the late Hallstatt period in southwest Germany are a good example. Their primary function is assumed to have been to serve as funerary places but the memorial aspect of these monuments has rarely been tested or explicitly hypothesised. The relationship between the social units represented by mounds containing burials and their role as coded mnemonic landscape features has also remained largely unexamined.

Clearly, social memory and death are fundamentally linked in many cultures, and the Iron Age of central Europe appears to have conceptualised burial monuments, especially tumuli, in a way that strongly suggests such a link. Concepts of community, territoriality,

kin networks, hierarchy and identity are often inscribed in the mortuary record in patterned ways, both within cemeteries and within the burial monuments themselves (Arnold and Wicker 2001; Silverman and Small 2002; Smejda and Turek 2004, among others). Both variability and continuity are represented in the late Hallstatt mounds in southwest Germany, which range widely in size, from ten to 100 metres in diameter, and number of burials, from fewer than ten to over 100 interments (Arnold 2002; Kurz 1997).

The internal arrangements of burials within mounds also vary in what appear to be meaningful ways, within mound cemeteries as well as between them. There are variations in the orientation and position of burials with respect to the central interment and other secondary graves, in terms of gender ratio and with respect to features not functioning primarily as graves. The position of mounds in the landscape, relative to topographic features, settlements, other mounds and later monuments, is purposive but not predictable (Arnold 2002), suggesting that the Iron Age mortuary landscape functioned as a coded mnemonic system whose significance, if not meaning, was still recognised by later and/or intrusive groups (Sippel 1980: 138).

As one of the most visible and most intensively, if unsystematically, studied archaeological landscape features of the early Iron Age, the role of mounds in the creation of memory maps, both intentional and inscribed, deserves closer study. Moreover, as the example of the 1950s memorial to the Forest Service war dead on the summit of the Hohmichele attests, the cooption, appropriation and reuse of these mounds by later populations constitutes an extension of such commemorative practices into the present, and should be included in discussions of the mortuary landscape of this region. In particular the association with the commemoration of the dead remains the most pervasive element of collective memory regarding these archaeological features today, although their possible prehistoric function as territorial markers continues to be seen in medieval times, when they are referred to in texts as “sepulcra finalia” or “sepultura finales” (boundary-marking graves) (Sippel 1980: 138–140).

However, based on the textual record, the association between mounds and mortuary ritual was lost by the 13th century, at which point the notion of a fantastic origin, including construction by giants, becomes the prevalent explanatory paradigm until the first unsystematic explorations began in the 18th century (ibid: 143, 145). The term burial mound (Grabhügel), at least in Germany, is documented for the first time in 1726 in the description of a prehistoric tumulus (ibid: 144). Clearly, at least in west-central Europe, archaeology has replaced oral tradition as the most reliable source of information about these monuments.

History of investigation

Part of the reason the extreme variability of late Hallstatt mounds in southwest Germany is only now being recognised is that until recently the number of systematically excavated burial monuments was limited and most published studies focused on existing collections of artefacts, many of which lacked context. Convergent evolution has contributed to this analytical impasse – function has been presumed based on superficial morphological similarity – as has the scale at which most analyses have been carried out. Catalogues of mounds and their contents still frequently follow modern political boundaries (Württemberg, Hohenzollern, Bavaria, *etc.*) and the analytical focus has only recently shifted to archaeologically rather than politically defined regions. This, combined with a growing number of systematically excavated mounds, has resulted in increasing recognition of the extensive variability within this site category.

Between 1820 and 1860, grave goods and the mounds that contained them were for the first time referred to as the product of human activity rather than objects spontaneously “created by God and nature”, the latter described as autochthonously grown antiquities (“selbstgewachsene Altertümer”) (Sippel 1980: 137). Previous interpretations of burial mounds and their contents included extreme forms of the anthropomorphisation and feminisation of the landscape found in the Kimmig exposition cited at the beginning of this paper. In a particularly evocative example from 1562, Johannes Mathesius describes prehistoric ceramic vessels as emerging from the swellings of the pregnant earth (tumuli) each May in a terrestrial parthenogenesis (Sippel 1980:137).

Such fanciful interpretations were due partly to the relatively sparse information available regarding prehistoric burial mounds before the mid-19th century. Until that time, investigations of mounds took the form of sporadic and individual efforts, as in the case of the excavation of Bronze Age tumuli in the Hohenlohe region of Germany around 1740 by Christian Hansselmann (1699–1775) (Kurz 1997: 3). Initially the focus was on data collection and the organisation of that data in some chronological framework; classification of objects by function, material and size was the standard approach to organising information at this early stage of the discipline, with less attention being paid to context. To some extent, this object-centred form of analysis remains the norm in many regional museums throughout central Europe, and has contributed to the artificial separation of mortuary material culture from mortuary context. The mounds themselves have tended to be treated as backdrops or stage sets for the grave goods and the bodies of the deceased individuals, with little emphasis placed on the way in which the interpretation of their contents might be affected by the quite varied mound contexts. Time/energy expenditure studies (Eggert 1988, 1989) or comparisons of the evidence for varied construction techniques (Kurz 1981, 1982, 1997) and extensive artefact analysis (Burmeister 2000; Zürn 1987) have generally maintained that separation. Few studies, such as Hennig (2001), which presents the mound and burial contexts as well as their contents in a review of the Hallstatt graves of Bavarian Swabia, have attempted a holistic analysis of the patterns represented by the artefact and mound context data. The possible distinction between mounds that served as mortuaries but also had a complex memorial function and those that served primarily to dispose of the dead has so far not been subjected to systematic investigation, for example.

In part the scatter-shot approach to interpretation has been due to differential preservation. The early Iron Age mounds visible in the landscape of southwest Germany, eastern France and Switzerland north of the Alps today represent an unknown fraction of the total number originally extant. The most visible mounds are in areas under forest management since the nineteenth century, while those in arable land have been largely destroyed by ploughing and tend to be discovered accidentally, as in the case of the two most famous unlooted central chamber burials: Hochdorf (discovered in Germany in 1976) (Biel 1985) and Vix (discovered in 1953 in France) (Joffroy 1979). Farming had obliterated virtually all traces of these mounds by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when antiquarian investigations resulted in the wholesale looting of central chamber burials of mounds that were still identifiable in the landscape. This in turn means that our knowledge of the central chamber graves for this entire period is based on a very small sample indeed. In addition, both antiquarian and more systematic investigations have tended to focus on the largest mounds, resulting in a skewed picture of the nature and function of this type of mortuary monument in the early Iron Age. The absence of systematic research programs focusing on the mortuary landscape in the post-war period has resulted in an incomplete and non-representative picture of these mounds as well; excavations have tended to be limited to

monuments directly threatened by destruction rather than being directed by an explicit research agenda. A project supported by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) and the EU is attempting to redress this situation (Biel and Krausse 2005).

The Heuneburg mortuary landscape

The “Landscape of Ancestors” project, initiated in 1999, anticipated the second phase of the research design of the current DFG project by focusing on the smaller mounds in the dispersed group of about 36 tumuli within three and a half kilometres of the Heuneburg hillfort, which includes the Hohmichele and the mounds that surround it (Figure 8.4). The Magdalenenberg tumulus on the eastern edge of the Black Forest served as a comparandum for the project to illustrate variation at the regional level; similarities in grave goods and grave good assemblages suggest that the two regions were in contact during the early Iron Age. This massive mound had an original height of eight metres and a diameter of 102 metres and contained a looted central chamber surrounded by 126 secondary graves for a total of 136 interments (Figure 8.5). Unlike the Hohmichele, the Magdalenenberg appears to have been a solitary monument, with the mound itself acting as a cemetery for the surrounding region rather than serving as the focal point of a mound group. The Hallstatt D1 (650–550 BC) burials in this mound appear to be arranged in six groups, interpreted as families of up to 10 members; five of the male burials (all mature individuals over the age of 40) contained daggers, suggesting a society organized along kinship lines in which prestige was both achieved and ascribed (J. Müller 1994; Riekhoff 2001: 84). Significantly, this giant tumulus seems to have functioned primarily as a mausoleum; there is no evidence for altars, offering places or hearths in the mound fill.

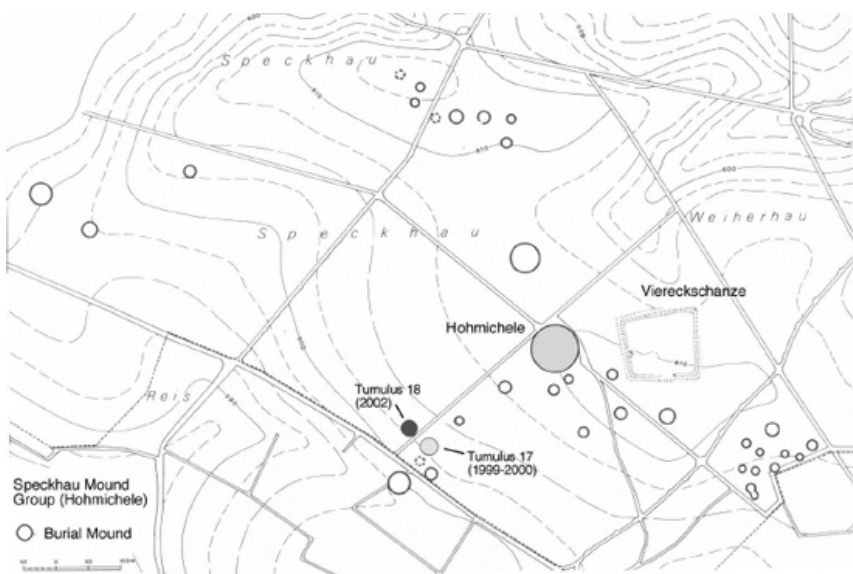


Figure 8.4. Tumulus 17 and 18 in the Speckhau mound group around the Hohmichele.

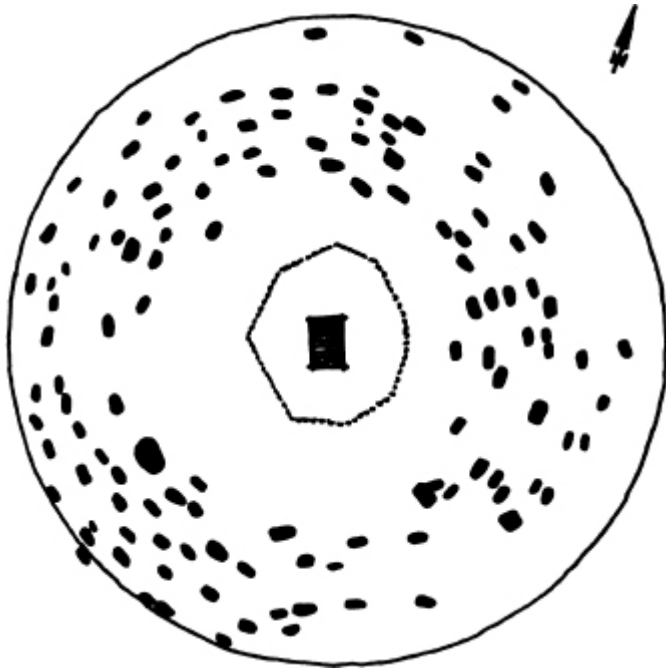


Figure 8.5. The Magdalenenberg tumulus near Villingen.

In contrast to the Magdalenenberg, which was only in use for a limited period of time and consists of a single enormous mound, the Heuneburg mortuary landscape is much more complex and clearly will require years of investigation before the relationships within and between mound groups and settlement areas can be understood. Proximity to the hillfort and size are just two of the variables affecting mound function and importance. Just 400m northwest of the Heuneburg hillfort is a group of four monumental burial mounds in the Giessübel parcel and the Talhau forest tract (Figure 8.6). The burial mounds in this group have a diameter of close to 50 metres and were preserved to a height of up to seven metres. When two of these mounds were levelled in 1876, the discovery of spectacular grave goods stimulated interest in these monuments. The subsequent excavations by antiquarian Eduard Paulus the Younger uncovered looted central burials in large wooden chambers, but several secondary burials, particularly those in Tumulus 1, yielded dramatic quantities of gold and bronze ornament and bronze drinking and feasting vessels. Paulus was aware of Heinrich Schliemann's recent discovery of spectacular gold-rich burials at Mycenae and coined the term *Fürstengrab*, princely burial, for what he saw as a central European equivalent of the Mycenaean finds (Dehn *et al.* 1962: iii). Since then the term has been applied to any chamber burial of the early Iron Age containing gold personal ornament, wheeled vehicles and metal and ceramic drinking equipment, often including Mediterranean imports. Unfortunately Paulus' excavation records leave much to be desired, and only Tumulus 4 in this mound group, which was investigated in the 1950s by Siegwalt Schiek, has produced detailed information regarding burial context (Kurz and Schiek 2002).



Figure 8.6. Giess“bel-Talhau Tumulus 1 and 2.

Three and a half kilometres west of the Heuneburg hillfort stands the Hohmichele, the most impressive of the mounds in this region (Figure 8.2). The tumulus was partially excavated by Gustav Riek between 1937 and 1938, during which time eight inhumation burials and at least one cremation were recorded. The looted central burial chamber was 3.5 × 5.7m in size, built of massive oak beams and erected on the ancient surface. The first fill episode of the Hohmichele associated with the central burial chamber has been dated to the late seventh/early sixth century BC – that is, it corresponds to the beginning of the Iron Age settlement on the Heuneburg hillfort (Kurz and Schiek 2002: 206). The last of the excavated inhumation burials, on the other hand, dates to the second half of the sixth century BC, suggesting that over the course of just 50–70 years the Hohmichele was repeatedly enlarged until it reached an estimated height of 15–16m (Riek 1962).

Rites of commemoration

Riek mentions what he refers to as “offering places”, some in the form of wooden platforms or stone emplacements, others in the form of straw matting or concentrations of charcoal with evidence of in situ burning. Twenty-five of these charcoal concentrations have recently been interpreted as evidence of some sort of mortuary cult activity (Biel 2001: 368). It was originally suggested that the charcoal deposits were the remains of earlier settlement or burial contexts disturbed during the excavation of borrow pits exploited for the erection of the Hohmichele (Kurz and Schiek 2002: 32–34). However, based on the radiocarbon dating of charcoal in the vicinity of some of the stone placements in the Hohmichele, these at least cannot be the remains of disturbed Bronze Age burial mounds (Kurz and Schiek 2002: 77, Fnt. 424).

In addition, the detailed recording of similar features during the excavation of Tumulus 17 in 1999 and 2000 as well as mention of charcoal concentrations in the unsystematically excavated Tumulus 4 of the Roßhau mound group to the northwest of the Speckhau group

(Kurz and Schiek 2002: 133–134) clearly indicate that this feature category needs to be investigated more carefully. A. Witscher, a local dignitary and avid antiquarian, described the finds he made during his unsystematic 1893 exploration of Roßhau Tumulus 4 (a mound in the 20 metre diameter category like Speckhau Tumuli 17 and 18) as follows: “What appeared unusual here were the many fireplaces. The undersigned observed 15 larger and smaller hearths, which were distributed throughout the entire mound. Also noted were several large cobbles, which however lay in a more southerly direction, no longer in the centre. A single ceramic vessel constituted the only find here, it lay in close proximity to the stones” (author’s translation from the German; Kurz and Schiek 2002: 133–134).

In addition to the hearths or fireplaces described here, the stone altars or platforms documented in the Hohmichele, Speckhau Tumulus 17 and likely Roßhau Tumulus 4 (see Witscher’s comment regarding cobbles above) were clearly distributed in a patterned way on the surfaces of these mounds before being covered over by later fill layers. Other evidence of post-interment activity exists as well, notably in the form of a braid of human hair found just outside the central chamber of the Hohmichele. Cutting hair, as well as rending clothing and pouring dirt or ashes on the head or body are all ethnographically documented forms of mourning, often carried out by close family members of the deceased. Offerings in the form of food or drink frequently accompany such activity, a possible interpretation for the complete vessel found in a pit just inside the ditch of Giessübel-Talhau Tumulus 1 (Kurz and Schiek 2002: 97–98), the bowl found outside the boundary of the central enclosure of Speckhau Tumulus 17, and the upright food vessel uncovered toward the outer edge of Speckhau Tumulus 18 (Arnold *et al.* 2000, 2003). Recent work by Seth Schneider on refits between sherds from the central chamber cremation in Speckhau T17 and charcoal features higher in the mound suggest that a complex system of redeposition of curated ash, pottery and cremated remains was carried out at this mound and likely at the Hohmichele and selected other mounds as well (Schneider 2003, 2007).

The work of Sarah Tarlow on bereavement and commemoration, though derived from the more evidence-rich subfield of historical archaeology, could be usefully applied to the interpretation of curation, mourning and ritual burning in prehistoric contexts (1999). Her emphasis on the emotions of the mourners, the living survivors of the death that triggered the mortuary activity visible in the archaeological record, is valuable since it is they who are engaged in the construction of burial monuments and the activities leading up to, during and following the funeral. Many recent publications applying memory studies to archaeological interpretation tend to be dominated by text-aided case studies, particularly medieval or early historical archaeology (Cannon 2002; Williams 2003: 8–10), and there are challenges in adapting such nuanced and complex perceptions of death to prehistoric evidence. The volume edited by Howard Williams attempts to address this bias by including examples drawn from European prehistory, specifically the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age in Britain (2003), but to date there have been no comparable studies in central Europe. Excavation of other mounds in the Heuneburg region likely to produce evidence of supra-mortuary activity would allow the formulation and testing of hypotheses along the lines of these groundbreaking studies.

Monumental life-and-death cycles

The use-life of a mound as an active burial site is another important variable that must be considered when investigating the memorial and mortuary repository functions of these monuments. The Giessübel-Talhau mounds, for example, were in use exclusively between 540 and 400 BC, whereas the Hohmichele excavations produced no burials later than 540

BC (with the proviso that the unexcavated portions of the mound could contain later burials). The Magdalenenberg also was in use solely during Hallstatt D1, making it somewhat earlier than but largely contemporary with the Hohmichele. Both Speckhau Tumuli 17 and 18, on the other hand, had extremely long use-lives, ranging from 700/650 BC to 450/400 BC. The number of graves found in a mound cannot, therefore, be reliably linked either to the mound's size or to the length of time it was used as a burial place. By contrast, the burial distribution pattern does appear to be significant. Two primary distribution patterns can be identified for the Iron Age tumuli under discussion to date: a concentric distribution around the central chamber, as in the case of the Magdalenenberg, Speckhau Tumulus 18 and Giessübel-Talhau Tumulus 1 (which will be referred to here as the mausoleum mound category) (Figure 8.7), or a concentration of burials in quadrants (NE and SW) oriented toward the central chamber, as in Speckhau Tumulus 17, Giessübel-Talhau Tumulus 4 and probably the Hohmichele as well (referred to here as the commemorative mound category). Unfortunately, not enough information on grave placement is available from Giessübel-Talhau Tumulus 2, which was completely levelled, or the partially excavated Giessübel-Talhau Tumulus 3, to determine whether they also fit into one or the other of these two burial distribution patterns. No information is available on the position of burials in Roßhau Tumulus 4, but based on the presence of ancillary features reported by Witscher in this mound, the distribution should be consistent with the commemorative mound category. The mound appears to be relatively intact in spite of its nineteenth century violation, so in order to test this hypothesis the author hopes to include it in the "Landscape of Ancestors" investigations in the future.

By far the most elaborate internal constructions are found in the Hohmichele, which produced evidence of wooden platforms erected on posts at three different elevations within the mound, stone slab "offering places", fireplaces and possibly the base of a wooden or stone stela on the summit, now lost (Kurz and Schiek 2002; Riek 1962). This suggests that the size of this burial monument reflects its function as the location of a complex set of activities beyond those of a simple necropolis, referred to above as a "commemorative mound". By contrast, the even larger Magdalenenberg tumulus appears to have served primarily as a cemetery, with the 136 burials interred at different levels within it marked by wooden poles visible above the mound surface, presumably to avoid the disturbance of burials by later graves, which occurred on only one occasion. Konrad Spindler, the excavator, estimated that all of the secondary graves within the Magdalenenberg were placed there within a generation of the central chamber interment. Based on dendrochronological evidence as well as grave good typology, Spindler argued that the mound itself was completed over the course of two decades (1983: 135–136), with all the burials dating to Hallstatt D1.

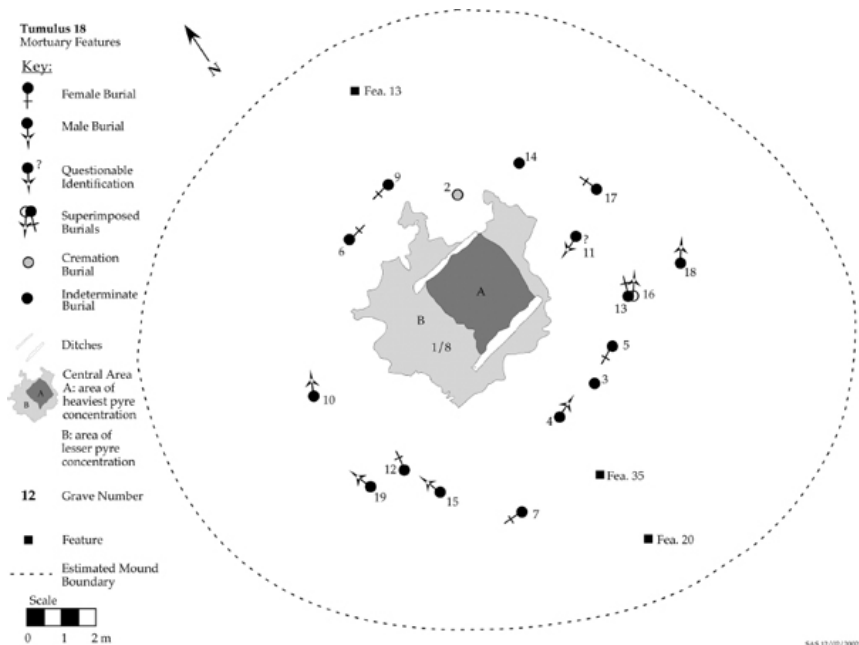


Figure 8.7. Tumulus 18 of the Speckhau mound group, an illustration of the cemetery mound pattern of concentric burial placement.

The fact that the Magdalenenberg was an isolated tumulus containing the largest number of burials known from any mound of this period arranged in a concentric pattern but lacked evidence of altars, hearths or similar features suggests that it should be classed primarily as a mortuary monument, or mausoleum mound (J. Müller 1994). Of course, the possibility of regional and temporal differences cannot be ruled out here – the super-mound mortuary monument category represented by the Magdalenenberg and the Hohmichele seems to have been a Hallstatt D1 phenomenon, and mounds may not have been used as sites of post-interment ritual activity in the Black Forest region no matter what their size or location – another hypothesis that remains to be tested.

Mounds, marking and memory

Features such as stelae may have marked the commemorative function of some mounds (Figure 8.8). Whether or not a stela marked all late Hallstatt mounds, or only mounds over a certain size or with particular features or functions is unknown, since in most cases stelae have not survived in situ, and those that are known frequently show signs of having been broken and moved from their original location. Clearly it must be assumed that some stelae might have been composed of organic material, such as wood, so the absence of evidence for such features does not represent evidence of their absence. On the other hand, given the close correspondence between the late Hallstatt Hirschlanden stela and the early La Tène Glauberg stela with the grave goods found in the central chambers of the Hochdorf and Glauberg mounds, respectively, at least the anthropomorphic stelae may represent some form of ancestor veneration (Hermann 2002a: 98; Rieckhoff 2001: 189–191; Schickler 2001: 121; Spindler 1983: 172–185).



Figure 8.8. The reconstructed Hochdorf mound near Stuttgart with its stela.

Some of the earliest anthropomorphic stelae in central Europe date from the seventh century BC in Italy, where an example from the cemetery of Comino represents a crudely carved warrior with an incised pendant-decorated necklace, round, shield-like protective elements in front and back and a lance. Dating to the same period are three stelae from sites near Tübingen that are barely recognizable as human, with two sixth century stelae from the same region not much more detailed in their execution. An ithyphallic example from France also dated to the sixth century has an identifiably human head and the arms are carved in a hieratic gesture (Armit and Grant 2008) that is found on several other more clearly human stelae of this period, including one from the Odenwald and another from Switzerland, as well as the Hochdorf and Glauberg stelae. This gesture, which involves the crossing of the forearms across the torso so that neither touches the other is found on Iron Age stone sculptures in Greece, Italy and the Iberian Peninsula, suggesting that its cultic significance was quite widespread even if it may not have had precisely the same meaning in all of these regions (Weber 2002: 313–327). Another feature of some of the Iron Age stone stelae is the so-called “Mickey Mouse” ears that seem to sprout out of their heads like inverted commas, usually interpreted as a sign, comparable to the halo on Christian saints, of the apotheosis of an ancestral figure (Hermann 2002b: 208–218).

The assumption here, again largely untested, is that the primary interment in the central chamber of these mounds was viewed as a transmuted ancestor through whose agency living individuals engaged in ritual communication with whatever forces they believed regulated the universe (Riekhoff2001: 181). Mounds of this type should be considered ritual performance sites, actively used by the living, as well as mausolea. Significantly, there is little evidence during the late Hallstatt period for centrally organized cult activity; no temples or similar structures are known and ritual activity is mainly documented in natural places such as caves, clifftops or rock fissures (F. Müller 2002; Riekhoff2001: 194–196). This may be in part because the main focus of ritual activity was located in mortuary sites, some of which appear to have served as performance loci for recurrent ceremonies. The largely geometric ornamentation of the late Hallstatt period, found on pottery and bronze objects and probably also in perishable materials like wood, is dominated by a circle-and-

dot pattern that may evoke the symbol of the mound as a lineage marker, and the distribution of mounds in the landscape appears to map social units in some cases, both examples of material culture references that may have reinforced the sensory memories of rituals enacted at and through these mortuary monuments.

This thesis also is supported by the close correlation between some of the late Iron Age ritual sites known as Viereckschanzen and early Iron Age burial mound groups, which suggests that the use of some mounds as ritual performance sites may have survived the transition to what seems to have been a more centralized system of religious practice in the La Tène period. The fact that stelae on tumuli are known from the early Hallstatt period (Ha C) until the early La Tène period (LT A – the Kleinaspergle near Stuttgart is the latest documented example) and are no longer in use when the Viereckschanzen first appear seems significant in this context as well (Riekhoff2001: 189). Also significant is the fact that mound burials disappear at the same time the Viereckschanzen come into use, and that by the late La Tène period few archaeologically visible traces of mortuary practices are known in central Europe. One possibility is that when alternative means of linking the ancestors to the living population through the built environment were developed, the mortuary modality of this communication system was abandoned.

Here the literature on memory as viewed through an anthropological filter provides a valuable way of seeing, and potentially understanding, the fluctuating forms of concretized memory that characterized the European Iron Age and continue into the present day. Angèle Smith's analysis of nineteenth century Irish ordnance maps explicitly addresses the ways in which selected archaeological sites are meaningful for local populations, part of social memory and the identity of the community, in spite of the frequent erasure of local traditions from official survey maps (2003: 82). In both cases, we find that where there are ritualized practices associated with a landscape, multiple interpretations of the meaning and significance of that landscape tend to emerge, resulting in contestation of the polyvalent meanings (Chidester and Linenthal [1995] cited in Smith 2003: 83). Just as some Viereckschanzen appear to have appropriated late Hallstatt ritual space by being built in close proximity to earlier burial mounds, thereby marking out arenas of competition and cooption (Arnold 2002: 132–133), the interpretation of these rectangular enclosures continues to be the focus of considerable debate among archaeologists today. Depending on which approach is considered, some, none or all of the enclosures were ritual spaces, and they may have been constructed as ritual spaces and reused as residential areas, or the reverse (Murray 1996; Venclová 1997; Wieland 1999, among others).

The discovery of complex wall and ditch systems and what appear to be processional ways in association with burial mounds at the Glauberg in Germany and Mont Lassois in France, among other sites, have provided additional support for the idea that the mortuary landscape of the late Hallstatt period in central Europe was a place in which the living were engaged in active and ongoing negotiation with each other and with the Otherworld as well as with the dead (Riekhoff2001: 193). The effort required to construct and maintain such complexes makes it likely that these liminal spaces were the primary loci for the creation, enacting and witnessing of social networks that were deeply rooted in genealogy and the transmission of descent systems. The tumuli represent merely the last remnant and most visible reminder of these ritual spaces, three-dimensional memory maps that channelled the movement of the living through the permanently present, socially significant dead.

“Landscapes of Ancestors”

Several questions about the Heuneburg mortuary landscape and its interpretation have been

raised by the “Landscape of Ancestors” (LOA) excavations (Arnold *et al.* 2000, 2001, 2003). One of the most relevant to the argument presented above concerns the social unit(s) represented by late Hallstatt mounds, including what motivated the establishing of a new mound and whether physical proximity in the same mound group can be considered a reflection of social proximity (Hennig 2001: 101). Several possibilities present themselves, including groups linked by blood ties (consanguineal), by blood ties and marriage (affinal), by blood ties, marriage and economic ties (household), or some combination thereof. Not all graves in mounds are richly outfitted, which seems to rule out the possibility that social status as defined by individual wealth was a primary requirement. Analyses based on dental morphology carried out by Kurt Alt and his team at Mainz (Alt *et al.* 1995) have confirmed the close familial relationships between individuals within mounds and within mound cemeteries in the Black Forest region. More recent genetic analyses have linked the Hochdorf central interment to the individual in the looted Grafenbühl central chamber 11 kilometres away near Stuttgart (Hummel *et al.* 2005: 67–70; Krausse 2005: 63–66); their identical mtDNA indicates maternal lineages may have determined status inheritance in this society, something Ludwig Pauli suggested years ago based on his analysis of burial data in northern Württemberg (Pauli 1972). Social relationships rather than wealth then seem to have been the deciding factor in mound burial – presumably affecting both in which mound and in which type of mound one would be buried.

The results of the LOA investigations suggest that the distribution of grave goods, such as the gold neckrings in Giessübel-Talhau Tumulus 1 and the ancillary features found in the Hohmichele and Speckhau Tumulus 17, but not apparently in the Giessübel-Talhau mounds, are evidence of more than one type of social unit in the Heuneburg mortuary landscape. The distinctions appear to be based in part on whether or not the mound served primarily as a repository for the dead (mausoleum mound), as in the case of mounds with a large number of burials (Speckhau Tumulus 18 and Giessübel-Talhau Tumuli 1 and 4) or whether a mound was also the stage for recurring ritual performances during as well as after the placing of the dead in successive layers of mound fill (commemorative mound), as in the case of the Hohmichele and Speckhau Tumulus 17. Based on the evidence currently available, it appears as if mounds with fewer burials are more likely to contain such non-burial or supra-mortuary features, while those with a large number of graves seem to have served primarily as necropoli. At this point it is not possible to explain these differences – the possibilities include everything from differential social group rankings to mounds in which individuals not born in the community were buried – but they must be addressed by future investigations.

This is not to say that no funerary activities were carried out at mounds lacking altars or evidence for small fires or offering places. A good example is the large oak bole burned in situ on the edge of Speckhau Tumulus 18 at some point before the final layer of fill was placed on that mound (Arnold *et al.* 2003). Around the same time a single small vessel was deposited near the edge of the almost completed mound; it was still in an upright position when it was discovered during the 2002 field season, comparable to a vessel found in a similar context in Giessübel-Talhau Tumulus 1. These activities apparently did not involve the construction of non-burial features on the surface or at the base of these mounds, but the fact that food vessels were involved suggests that some sort of offering ritual was conducted at least once at these monuments as well. It is the large number as well as the recurrent and structured nature of the features in mounds like the Hohmichele and Speckhau Tumulus 17 that set these monuments apart.

The clustering of the Heuneburg mounds in groups, the highly variable number of

burials per mound, the differing sex ratios, the fact that most mounds contain no children's graves while others may contain several, usually with neckrings and typically with female ornament, suggest that the mound groups in this region may represent lineages, while individual mounds may represent different clans or septa. Those mounds with the smallest number of burials for their size – the Hohmichele, Speckhau Tumulus 17 and possibly Giessübel-Talhau Tumulus 3 – also contain the most complex supra-mortuary, non-burial features, including hearths, ash deposits and altars or platforms that may have been used for ritual practices possibly tied to ancestor veneration associated with the central burial. These activities were apparently carried out at intervals on successive mound surfaces and in the case of Speckhau Tumulus 17 seem to have spanned more than a century. What is clear is that some of the mounds in the mortuary landscape of this region represented visible reminders of a complex set of social relationships commemorated by their placement, size, and the presence or absence of basal demarcations or stelae, among other features. Some of these mounds remained embedded in the memory of the local population as significant ritual spaces with possible links to semi-mythical or deified lineage and/or clan founders. When the Heuneburg population eventually built a Viereckschanze in the late La Tène period, they chose to construct it immediately beside the Hohmichele and the Speckhau mound group, which the evidence presented here suggests had been the focus of previous supra-mortuary ritual activity. Significantly, they did not construct it in close proximity to the Giessübel-Talhau mounds in the immediate vicinity of the hillfort, which lack such evidence.

At the time the Viereckschanze was built in the late La Tène period, the hillfort itself had been largely abandoned, but in the memory map of the local population, the early mounds to the west remained a potent symbol of the power of the late Hallstatt lineage that flourished there in the sixth century. The translation of the ancestor cult from mound-centred to non-mortuary ritual space in the form of the Viereckschanzen seems to reflect a shift in the performance venue while maintaining a physical link to the ancestral bodies, both literal and figural, and their architectural manifestations in the landscape (Bittel 1978, 1990: 70; Schiek 1982).

Just as the mounds themselves are a distortion rather than a reflection of the society that constructed them – the majority of the population was erased from memory during the early Iron Age by the practice of a disposal rite that left no material traces – the archaeological emphasis on investigating the larger mounds in the Heuneburg landscape has resulted in a skewed perspective on the early Iron Age in this region. Not only has this bias effectively disenfranchised the segment of the population buried in mounds less than 50 metres in diameter, it has also compromised the interpretation of the largest mounds that have been investigated. They have become, more than anything, a vehicle for the aspirations of the local community and the archaeologists who work in the region, who have inscribed their own meanings upon them according to their respective needs. The question is at what point did the amnesia with respect to this class of monument become total?

Significantly, reuse of early Iron Age mounds as burial places in later periods is extremely rare in southwest Germany, although it is a practice documented in other parts of Europe. This suggests that for a long time there was some memory of the function and significance of these monuments, and possibly even respect for what they symbolized, at least until the introduction of Christianity. The gap in the oral tradition created by this imported belief system is a particularly good example of how ideological transitions can severely hamper the potential ability of mortuary monuments as well as other elements of the prehistoric archaeological record to communicate their meaning effectively in later

periods. Christianity represented a fundamental break with a previously continuous burial tradition stretching back at least into the Neolithic, thereby reducing the symbolic resonance of the burial mounds, with their presumably rich panoply of cultural associations in the form of specific stories, links to particular individuals and social groups, musical traditions, and other mnemonic signifiers, to the two primary functions of mortuary monuments mentioned at the beginning of this discussion: in memoriam and RIP. In this case, the severing of the descendant population in the region from any memory of the ancestral traditions and practices that created the mortuary monuments found along every forest logging trail or field track has made these cultural revenants as remote and inaccessible as the pyramids of Egypt. Archaeological investigations can render only incomplete assistance in such a situation, but remain the best interrogatory tool for bringing Iron Age central European landscapes back to life.

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Memories of features, memories in finds: the remembrance of the past in Iron Age Scandinavia

Lars Larsson

Memory in prehistoric societies may be observed in the repetitive use of places and artefacts. The fact that sites were used for different purposes with intervals of several centuries indicates that information about land use, e.g. for ritual purposes, was retained for several generations. In some cases the use of old cemeteries and the copying of old ornaments might act as a link to past times with special attraction. During the excavation of a large settlement site at Uppåkra, southernmost Sweden, a small ceremonial building was found. At least seven stages of the same structure, dating from about 200 AD to the mid-ninth century, were identified. The striking sequence of stave buildings might mirror the long and seemingly unchanged memory of religious, social and political importance.

Introduction

In early 1980s I was studying interesting material from Scania in the southernmost part of Sweden dated to the middle part of the Middle Neolithic, to about 2800 BC. It represented a type of pottery as well as an assemblage of flint tools that had not previously been identified in southern Sweden (Larsson 1982a). Not only the artefacts but also their find context had a special attraction. These artefacts were found in long and narrow ditches forming a row and in pits on one side of these ditches. The structures were similar to causewayed enclosures. At that time, the ditches were dated by the finds to a later part of the Middle Neolithic (Larsson 1982a). New finds of causewayed enclosures in Denmark have been dated to a much earlier part of the Neolithic, at about 3400 BC (Andersen 1997). The finds on the site that I dated several hundred years later were all found in the top layer of the ditch fillings. Today I am certain that the ditches were of a considerable date when the site was secondarily occupied. In this case it is of special interest that some of the Danish causewayed enclosures contain the same kind of later material as this site in Scania (Andersen 1997). More than six hundred years after the enclosures had been abandoned, the sites were reoccupied. At that time the old ditches would still have been visible as shallow depressions in the ground. The distribution of finds as well as new features show that the old marks of the enclosure were an important factor in structuring how the new site was arranged. This might mean that the enclosure was still in people's memory and that the location of the new site was an intentional decision. The settlers had a desire to connect their activities with people of the past. The same intentions can be identified when old bog sites with initial depositions from about the same time as the causewayed enclosures are reused after a hiatus of about the same duration as above. These examples are related to a kind of memory that is an invention of traditions or a search for lost times (Bradley 2002, 2003; Hobsbawm 1983).

Depositing artefacts within a delimited area of a wetland, with intervals of several centuries in between, means that knowledge of the ritual importance of the site survived for generations. Knowledge of the physical as well as the metaphysical associations of the

landscape was passed down over long time-scales, and during certain periods the relation of these associations to the wider world-view is marked by ritual practice involving material culture. However, it is apparent that for long intervals the knowledge was passed on without any visible reaction by the Neolithic societies in question, in terms of active votive deposition, and this observation perhaps best reinforces the conclusion that these locations held significance beyond the spiritual. Memory might have been a very important element within the society, but it is only when it is materialised because of special triggers within the society that it will be obvious for us. In a special way it becomes a memorial or a manipulation of memory, understandable for some people at the time and also petrified for us to recognise.

Links between the Roman Period and the Viking Age

It was the Neolithic features and finds that aroused my interest. However, I intend to deal in this paper with phenomena related to the first millennium AD, which in Scandinavia is included in the Iron Age but in other parts of Europe would be regarded as the Roman Period and Early Middle Ages.



Figure 9.1.. The Viking Age grave at Aska, Sweden, with some of the grave goods. The five berloques at the top are shaped like ornaments from the Roman Iron Age.

“Cattle die, kinsmen die, the self must also die; I know one thing which never dies: the reputation of each dead man.” These words of wisdom come from *Hávamál*, “The Sayings of the High One” and clearly indicate that the power of memory was highly active in late prehistory. Otherwise solid evidence of a functional memory in the material culture is very rare. The grave goods in Iron Age graves are, with few exceptions, of the same age as the buried person. One rarely do we find any grave goods that might be a gift or heirloom to maintain the memory of a deceased relative.

The exceptional examples are instead grave goods that resemble artefacts that were in use several centuries earlier. A rich grave for a female from Aska in central Sweden is dated to the Viking Age (800–1000 AD). Among other objects indicating that the woman had a special position in ritual life, the grave goods also included a number of silver berloques of

a type that is frequent during the first and second centuries AD, namely about 700 years before the construction of the grave (Arwill-Nordbladh 2007) (Figure 9.1). From the methods of manufacture it is obvious that the berloques were made during the lifetime of the woman. They seem to be copies of finds of an old and highly regarded mythological past.



Figure 9.2. The situation within the Iron Age cemetery at Önsvala. Graves from different periods are placed close to each other.

The suspicion that there might be an intentional link between the Roman Iron Age and the Viking Age is based upon several cases of Viking Age graves located on or close to graves dated to the centuries before and after the start of our era (Artelius 2004; Hållans 2006; Pedersen 2006). In the intervening period the cemeteries were not in use. The reason for the interest of the Viking Age population in the Roman Iron Age might be that it was in that period that the world-view which we know from Norse mythology originated. This might be a mixture of older traditions and new influences from the Roman Iron Age. These connections are probably connected to the mythological past with highly selective information. Repetitive performance about certain actions is an adequate manner to keep a detailed memory of the past and its people.

Locating the grave of a newly deceased person close to a recently buried person is one way to maintain active knowledge. But there are few examples of that behaviour during the Iron Age. At the cemetery of Önsvala in southernmost Sweden, a number of rich graves of females were excavated (Larsson 1982b). Most of them were concentrated in three limited areas. Judging by their distribution, they were placed in three mounds that were later totally destroyed (Figure 9.2). The graves belonged to three phases, c. 300, 600 and 1000 AD, in other words, from stages with several centuries in between. The most plausible explanation is that a settlement was moved with a sequence of some generations and that the cemetery is just one of two or more sites where the dead members of the community were buried. The location of the graves means that people had a good knowledge of where and how earlier burials were constructed and that their intention was to bury as close as possible to older graves without causing destruction. These examples illustrate that memory was primarily

expressed in Iron Age Scandinavia in collective actions, such as burial rites, and rarely in individual behaviour.

A building of memory

Memory can be manifested in several different ways. One most evident way is by maintaining structures related to ritual and ceremonial practice – connecting the mental order with a specific building. One such example is a special structure at a large settlement at Uppåkra in southernmost Sweden.

Excavations have revealed occupation layers dating from about 100 BC to 1000 AD that cover an area of approximately 40 hectares – the largest occupation site known so far in southern Sweden (Hårdh 2000, 2003). Excavations on a larger scale were concentrated in a central area of the site, with extensive amounts of finds recovered through the use of metal detectors (Figure 9.3). The remains of a small building stood out clearly in contrast to the surrounding occupation layer. The house had straight gables and slightly convex walls. It was 13.5 metres long and 6 metres wide, with four large interior post-holes, placed in pairs. Four posts were placed in each corner of the structure. The house had three entrances. Deep wall trenches and the almost two-metre-deep post-holes indicate that the house would also have given added support to a tall building (Larsson 2006, 2007; Larsson and Lenntorp 2004).

Subsequent excavation revealed a very complex sequence of layers, suggesting that a high-timbered building, with a stave-wall structure, had been built and rebuilt in seven major stages. The form and structure of the stave buildings were closely maintained throughout the sequence. The building was erected about 200 AD and last dismantled during the early Viking Age, at about 950 AD. The building was situated in the central part of the site.

The finds from the floors were numerous. They included fibulae, beads, fragments of crucibles and potsherds, dating from the Pre-Roman Iron Period up to the Viking Age. In the floor surface, south of a fireplace, was a rare cache find consisting of a metal beaker and a glass bowl. Stratigraphic analysis indicates that these items were deposited while the building was in use. The finds in the fill layers of the wall trenches and post-holes were particularly rich. For example, more than one hundred gold-foil figures were found in these features.

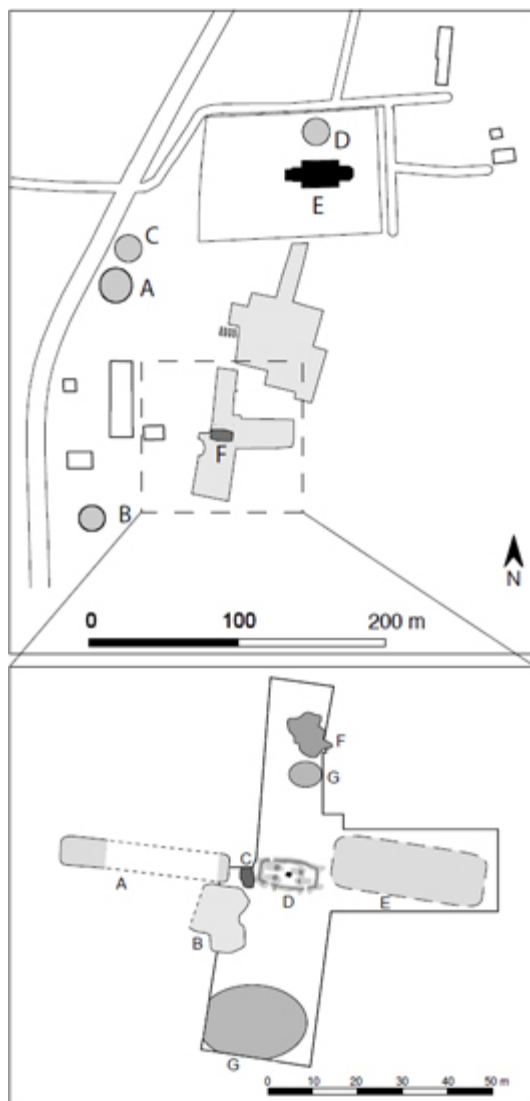


Figure 9.3. Top: The excavation areas within Uppåkra during the field campaigns 2001–2004 (grey shading).

*A–B: mounds,
C–D: destroyed mounds,
E: present church
F: the special building.*

Bottom: The location of features around the cultic building.

*A: house partly excavated in 1934 and in 2006,
B: stone paving,
C: concentration of fire-cracked stones and bones,*

*D: the house sequences,
E: area with several long-houses,
F: concentrations of weapons,
G: sparse distribution of weapons.*

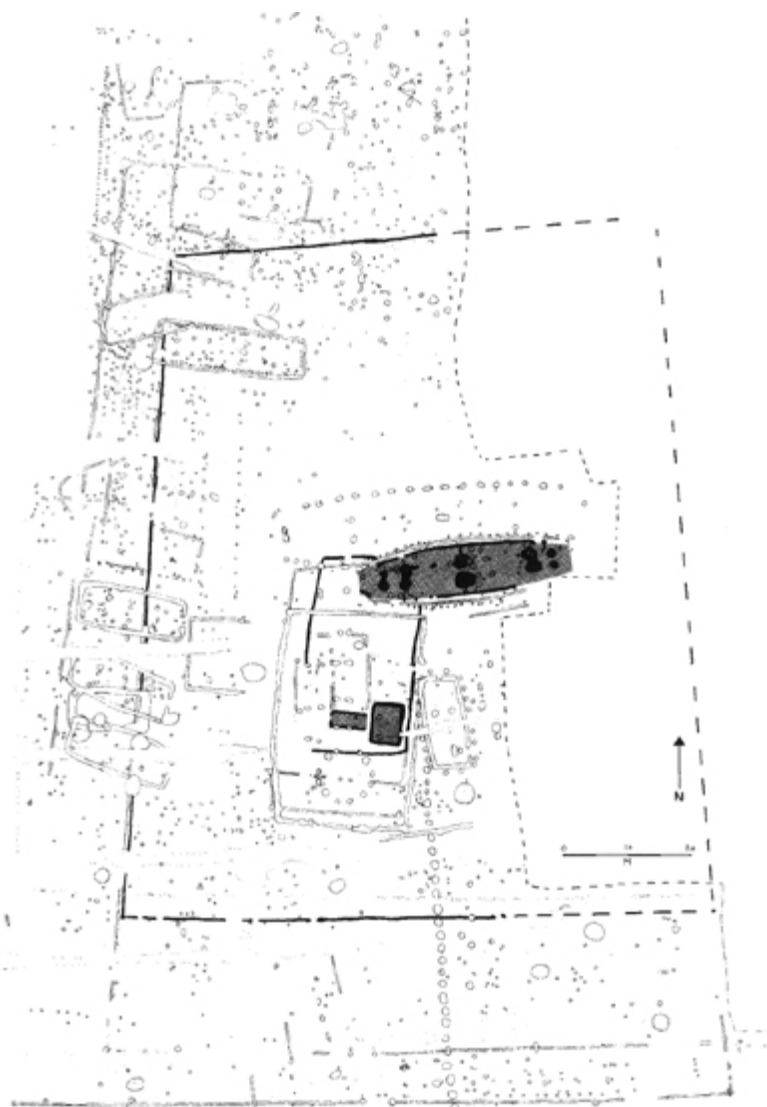
These special finds and structural elements, as well as the sequence of houses, constitute the remains of a very unusual Iron Age building. Whether the building at Uppåkra should be regarded as a cult house or a temple might be a semantic detail. Of special importance in understanding the ritual role of the building are the depositions of weapons to the north and south of the house (Helgesson 2004) (Figure 9.3). Lanceheads and spearheads formed a distinctive group, but there were also shield bosses and handles, arrowheads, and many other iron implements. Much of the weaponry had been destroyed and deposited in a manner not unlike what has been documented in the famous bog finds. A large number of bones were connected to the concentrations, including bones of humans. There is a chronological spread among the lanceheads and spearheads that partly coincides with the sequence of buildings.

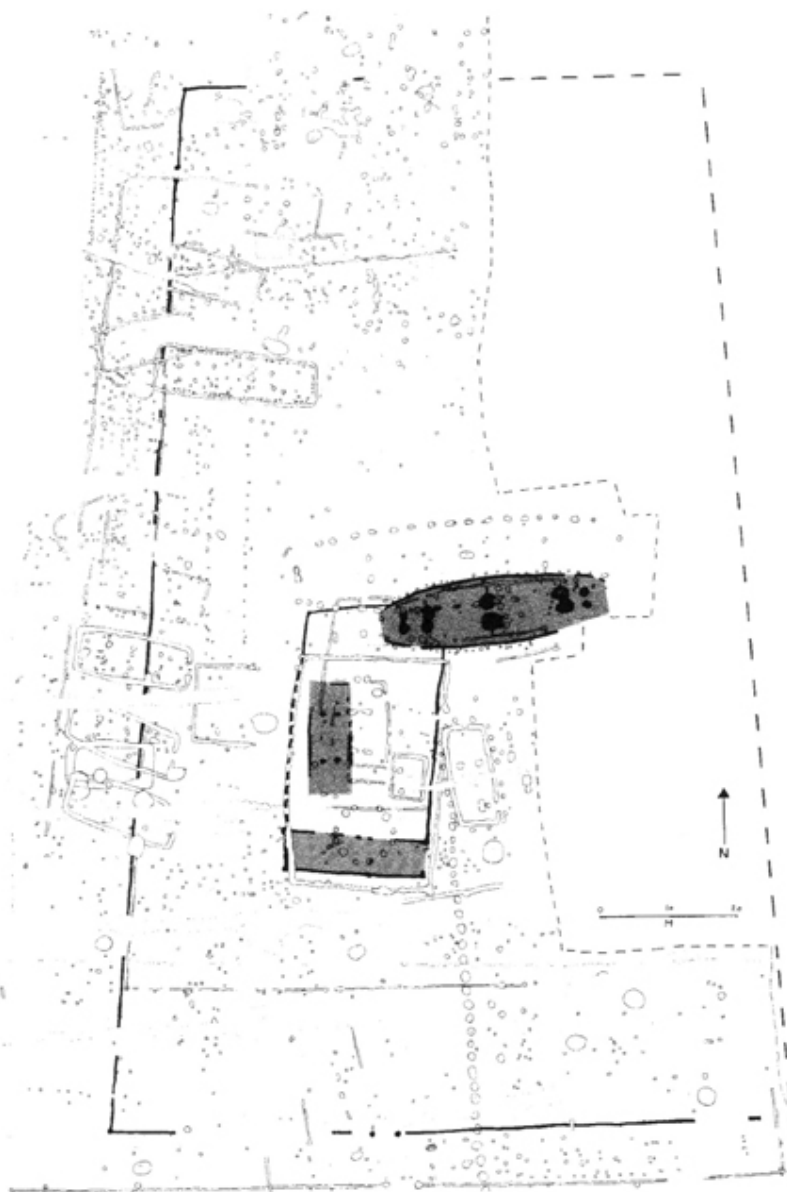
It should be stated that this kind of continuity of a special building is not limited to the structure at Uppåkra. At other Scandinavian sites of importance, often described as central places, one might find a certain continuity of house stages. In most cases the large central building, the hall, is replaced by a new one on the same spot. However this continuity involves four stages at the most (Jørgensen 1998, 2002) (Figure 9.4). Additional small buildings regarded as structures of ritual use might also show a similar replacement (Jørgensen 1998).

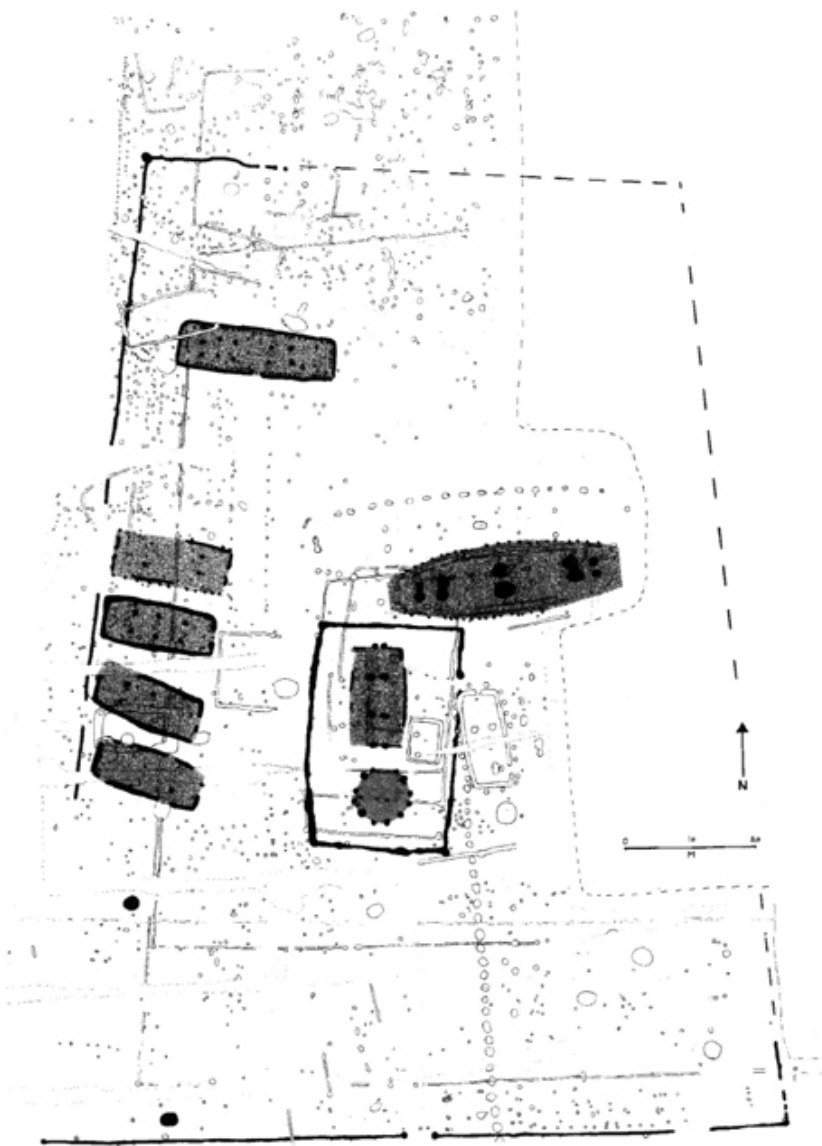
An atavistic building

The Uppåkra site differs from most south Scandinavian central places through its considerable continuity from the late part of the Pre-Roman Iron Age until the late Viking Age. The striking sequence of stave houses might mirror the long and seemingly unchanged continuity in Uppåkra's religious, social and political importance. Unchanged by the dramatic events of centuries, Uppåkra stands out as an especially stable central place. Through the centuries the stave house would have become a monumental materialisation of a solidly established social order. Preserving the form of a building could also suggest the preservation of experiences and events. The use and shape of the building probably went out of fashion and might even have been viewed as ancient, almost atavistic.

In size and in certain constructional respects the building might be compared to the ordinary halls of the Roman Iron Age of southern Sweden. However, the extraordinary size of the gable posts and the inner roof-supporting posts as well as the number and location of entrances made the structure very special right from its initial phase. The same can be argued for the extraordinary number of rebuildings. The building might have had a dual function as a house for display with ceremonies linked to certain rituals. Despite the logistical challenges in constructing and maintaining a tall, heavy-timbered stave hall, the house at Uppåkra continued to be used and protected. Just like the site *per se*, the building became a testimony to the long and stable continuity of a secular and sacred order for several centuries. New excavations just to the west of the high-timbered building provide evidences of several large hall buildings dating from about 400 AD to at least 800 AD. At least two of them were deliberately burnt down and included human remains. Internal or external competition of the leadership of the site might have taken place but the high-timbered building was protected and stood intact despite heavy fires close by.







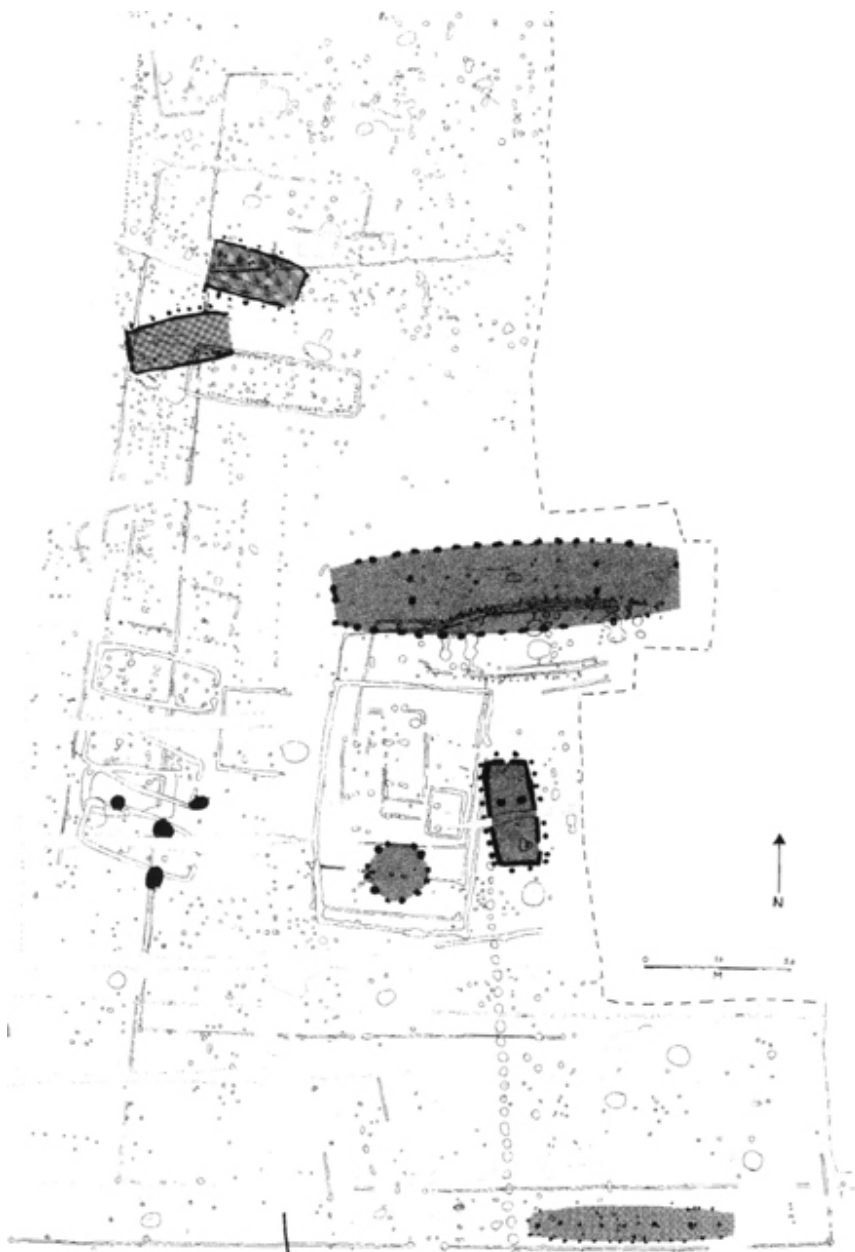


Figure 9.4. The sequence of the large hall buildings in four stages at Tissø, Denmark.

The relation between the Roman Iron Age and the Viking Age seems, from some features and finds, to have been of special interest to the society. But in most of these cases groups manipulated the memory of the departed past in order to fit within the world-view of their contemporary society. In these cases, it was easy to glorify the past and

feel certain links in common with the distant past. It seems to have been quite another situation when members of that society were directly confronted with features of the same past. The cultic house in Uppåkra was a concrete example built in the third century, despite being rebuilt several times without major changes to the plan.

The small inner area was quite sufficient as a place for meeting within the social order of the Early Iron Age. It was suitable for a group of about twenty persons. However, during the Late Iron Age the limited size might have been an obstacle when the representatives of the power sphere of interest to the leaders of the Uppåkra site were assembled. During the early Viking Age it had irrevocably become too old-fashioned to function as a building of central importance for the leaders at Uppåkra. Probably some of the elements connected to the building no longer functioned in a changing symbolic system. This might already be indicated by the deposition of the glass bowl and the bronze beaker when the second to last house was replaced. They were of a considerable age when deposited, used for generations, but had finally lost their importance as attributes in ceremonies.

This very noticeable fixation on the same basic structure during all the phases of rebuilding shows that there was a clear intention to retain the spatial proportions of the building. There can hardly be any explanation other than that the building was related to certain ideas – to a ceremonial or ritual spatial function. The activities associated with the building also functioned as premises for the structure of the building, with its spaces and openings. At Uppåkra, the memory of a mythical past was given an unusually solid representation.

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Re-collecting the fragments: Archaeology as mnemonic practice

Yannis Hamilakis

There are two possible ways of viewing this volume. The first is to treat it as a fine collection of thorough, empirically sound and sophisticated papers on memory in European prehistory, and one that offers significant insights that enrich a fast growing sub-field, that of the archaeology of memory (cf. Hamilakis and Labanyi 2008a; A. Jones 2007; P. L. Jones 2008; Mills and Walker 2008; Williams 2006; Yoffee 2007; for some recent, book-length additions). The other, and the one preferred by this author, is to treat it as an opportunity to reflect more broadly on the nature of remembering and forgetting, and on their association with the two fundamental concepts at the basis of the archaeological: matter and time, materiality and temporality. My main thesis in this brief comment, a thesis that I can only afford to outline in the most rudimentary manner, is that, by definition, all archaeology is about memory. Furthermore, given that the foundational notions upon which all archaeologies are constructed, materiality and temporality, are also the fundamental premises of remembering and forgetting, archaeologists are in a unique position to fertilise the burgeoning, cross-disciplinary field of memory studies. At the same time, archaeology can be creatively reshaped and transformed itself by the developments in that field.

Let me explain. I define here archaeology in the broadest sense (and closest to its etymological routes) as the discourses and practices involving things from another time. This inclusive definition implies that what professional and academic archaeologists practice today are recent and rather specific, “modernist” archaeologies, linked to the philosophical and social conditions of western modernity in the last two to three centuries (cf. Schnapp *et al.* 2004; Thomas 2004), incorporating however at times features that seem “pre-modern” (cf. Hamilakis 2007). But people articulated discourses on and engaged with the material traces of the past since prehistory, and in that sense archaeological practices are much older than we thought. These practices are often discussed under the rubric of the archaeology of memory (cf. for example, Alcock 2002; Bradley 2002; Bradley and Williams 1998). It is now widely accepted that a more useful conception of memory, at least for the social and historical sciences, is the one which, following Hallbwachs (1992[1925]), places emphasis on the collective processes of remembering and forgetting. This approach has been fertilised and enriched recently by historical and anthropological studies that highlight the key role of material culture within embodied and corporeal social interactions. Philosophers (*e.g.* Bergson 1991), historians (*e.g.* Connerton 1989), historians of art and cultural studies specialists (*e.g.* Kwint *et al.* 1999) and anthropologists (*e.g.* Seremetakis 1994) seem to converge on the idea that in order to understand remembering we need to study the links between embodied, sensuous and sensory experience, materiality, and collective-social rituals and interactions. The links between the archaeological process, and the process of remembering and forgetting (rather than the abstract and obscure notion of memory), the links, in other words, between the work of archaeology and the work of memory, are thus obvious. When we as archaeologists are dealing with the material traces

of the past, whether remembering and forgetting as perceived and practiced by people in the past is our research topic or not, we engage ourselves, more often than not collectively, with remembering and forgetting: we selectively re-collect fragments of the material past, and produce visible and often tactile archaeological sites that memorialise certain phases, events and people; we recall lives and deeds, and at the same time we forget and erase other phases, events and people, the ones that do not fit within our imaginary conception of the past, our theoretical/methodological and/or political worldviews. Archaeologies working within the framework of national memory may be an obvious case that comes to mind (cf. Davis 2008), but the mnemonic character of archaeology, its selective material recollection of the past are at the basis of all archaeological work. Archaeological practices today can be thus seen as mnemonic practices, in the same way that past, even prehistoric mnemonic material practices can be described as archaeological.

At the centre of remembering and forgetting is material and materiality. Not in a mechanistic sense of objects, things and landscapes as recording devices that store memories like a tape-recorder, which can be recalled, played back at later occasions, but rather in the more active and much more subtle sense of *evoking experience* (cf. A. Jones 2007). If remembering (or forgetting) was simply a matter of storage and recall (or erasure), it would not have had such immense power, it would not have had the ability to unsettle things, to disturb, to change the course of events, to lead to unpredictable outcomes. Ordered, organised, deliberate, *voluntary* practices of remembering and forgetting, whether by people in the past or by professional archaeologists today, are of course a large part of the memory field. But they are not the only ones. Proust's madeleine cakes should remind us that a large part of the work of memory happens *involuntarily*, maintains an element of spontaneity, it is anarchic and unpredictable. This is the type of memory that Walter Benjamin, not only out of admiration towards Proust but also as the revolutionary that he was, preferred:

"The canon of involuntary memory, like that of the collector, is a kind of productive disorder... Voluntary memory, on the other hand, is a registry, which classifies the object, with a number, behind which the object disappears. 'We must have been there' ('That was an experience')"

(cited in Leslie 1999: 116–117; cf. also Benjamin 1999: 211).

Benjamin's imagination and desire is primevally archaeological: he wants to rescue the object, and he wants to allow it to express its agency and power. The voluntary process of professional archaeological remembering may wish to order and classify, for example to produce a landscape of oblivion around the New Acropolis Museum in Athens, which opened its doors in June 2009. This has been since antiquity a place of multiple co-existences of times and people, but which the New Museum project wishes to render a homogeneous and mono-chronic landscape for the glorification of the classical past. It attempts to achieve this not only with what is exhibited inside the Museum itself (only the classical life of the Acropolis, from the Archaic to the Roman times is shown; neither its prehistoric, nor its later historic, Medieval, and modern lives are presented), but also with the production of a mnemonic landscape around it, by requesting the demolition, for example, of two Art Deco buildings which, it is claimed, obscure the view towards the monument itself. Here we have the work of voluntary memory in action, the selective recollection by the archaeologists and the museum professionals. Yet, while digging for the foundations of the New Museum, archaeologists encountered material remnants of many periods, most prominently later historical and medieval buildings. These material fragments, or rather material memories, may have been deliberately forgotten in the main exhibition space of the Museum, but through their agency, their ability to force their way

into the present, have won their right (following protest by many people) to be shown and exhibited in the foundations of the Museum, and be partly visible through its glass floor (cf. Hamilakis 2007). Like the involuntary recollection of past experience, they sprung up and unsettled the conscious and deliberate processes of monumentalisation and memorialisation.

For Proust, it was the smell and the taste of the madeleine cake that recalled and evoked, unexpectedly, past experiences, reminding of the key role of eating in producing what David Sutton calls (2001), “prospective remembering”, remembering in the future (cf. also papers in Seremetakis 1994; Walker 2000). For Benjamin, it is the object with its formal qualities and its sensorially perceived features that needs to be rescued. In the case of the New Acropolis museum, vision and visibility are the terrain on which voluntary and involuntary remembering and forgetting are played out. In the process of remembering and forgetting it is the bodily senses which are activated by the formal qualities of matter, of materials, objects and things (their visual features, their texture and other tactile effects, their scents and odours and tastes, their ability to elicit a sense of orientation and movement) that play a fundamental role. It is the bodily senses (that neglected dimension of the archaeology of the body, and of embodiment in general) that connect the materiality of things, the materiality of the body, and the processes of remembering and forgetting. In trying to understand how memory works thus, we should perhaps start by paying detailed and close attention to the sensorial qualities of things, which are often neglected within an abstract and disembodied conception of materiality (cf. Ingold 2007), and to the bodily senses as a fundamental condition of human sociality. It is this key dimension that the plentiful archaeological works inspired by Connerton’s emphasis (1989) on bodily incorporated, mnemonic practices have largely failed to grasp, and it is a failure that partly accounts for the fact that key sensorial and thus mnemonic phenomena such as eating and drinking feature so little in the archaeology of memory, still largely dominated by the emphasis on monuments/landscapes, outstanding objects, and burials (several of the papers in this volume, being an exception, however).

An emphasis on the sensorial character of memory and, more importantly, on the mnemonic significance of practices such as eating and drinking also renders problematic Connerton’s distinction (1989: 72–73) between *incorporating* bodily mnemonic practices such as gestures, bodily postures, and speech, and *inscribing* bodily mnemonic practices such as writing, photographs or (as applied by archaeologists) monument construction. According to him “incorporating practices...are largely traceless” (1989: 102). But what about powerful mnemonic practices such as eating and drinking? They are incorporating practices, yet they involve material culture and they *do* leave material traces such as food remnants, pottery and other artefacts, which are often hoarded, preserved and stored (see below). In this case, we have both Connerton’s processes at once: the process of mnemonic sedimentation through the sensuous acts of eating and drinking, and the process of inscription, through the paraphernalia of eating and drinking which acquire mnemonic importance. Even when Connerton discusses table manners (1989: 82–83) as an example of the *properties of the body* (a subcategory of the incorporating practices), astonishingly, he limits his discussion to gestures and habitual practices on the table, having nothing to say either on the consumption of substances themselves and on tastes and smells, or on the material culture associated with eating and drinking. Connerton’s distinction was motivated by his desire to show that we do not need devices such as writing to generate remembering, but it is now time to collapse his binarism, which will also mean the collapse of his implied distinction between habitual, ‘internal’ memory which supposedly leaves no traces, and ‘external’ material memory with its associated recording devices. This will reinstate the

shared materiality of the human body and of the “bodies” of non-human entities, and the shared mnemonic power of all material sensorial interaction.

We also often forget that when dealing with memory we deal with time and with temporality, another paradoxically neglected, but decidedly fundamental dimension of any archaeological engagement, modernist or not. But this neglect is not exclusively an archaeological problem. Feminist philosopher Elizabeth Grosz has recently noted that,

“...disciplines in the humanities, while continually evoking and attesting to the historical, tend to conceptualise it through the transformation of objects or subjects, *considering the past through its capture in memory* or in reading practices, and linking the future to the phantasmic, the imaginary, or the fictional. Nevertheless, time is not merely the attribute of a subject, imposed by us on the world: it is a condition of what is living, of matter, of the real, of the universe itself” (2004: 4; emphasis added).

In other words, by talking about memory, we avoid talking about time. But we could turn this argument to its head, and claim that the emphasis on memory affords us a unique opportunity, opens up a rare window to explore time and temporality, in the past as well as in the present. This is the unrealised, enormous potential of memory studies in archaeology. In fact, given the close links between matter/materials and (through their sensorial engagement with humans) the generation of remembering and forgetting, archaeologists, more than many other scholars, are in a unique position to explore the nature and the effects of temporality, the social production and political deployment of time. But in doing so, they will have to be prepared for the consequences. They may have to reflect on the linear, chronometric temporality within which most western modernist archaeologies operate, a conception that is at odds with other, more complicated notions of temporality, some of which emphasise co-existence of different times, rather than succession: an object that has been kept, hoarded or curated, and continues to act many centuries or even millennia after its original creation and use (cf. Liliou, this volume), an ancient architectural fragment that comes from say, the 6th century BC but which has been in the 20th century reworked or incorporated into the web of daily life, and inscribed with graffiti (cf. Hamilakis and Labanyi 2008b), a Roman funerary relief, which has been removed from its original find spot and has been incorporated into the external wall of a 19–20th c. house with its worked side facing outwards, it has been *publicly exhibited* in other words, are all practices that can be described invariably as archaeological (incorporating as they are collection, reworking, exhibition, and possibly interpretation) or mnemonic. But they are also strategies and practices that enact time materially. A fundamental property of matter is its *duration* (cf. Tsamis, this volume), its ability to project itself into the present and future, long after the initial process of its creation (Bergson 1991[1908]; cf. also Al-Saji 2004; Deleuze 1988; Hamilakis and Labanyi 2008b). The reuse, reworking and reincorporation of these past fragments into the present, have the ability to materialise time as co-existence rather than succession and linearity, in other words as *multi-temporality*. The material fragments of another time enact the past as *immanent* vis-à-vis the present, not something separate from it, nor as a mere presentist construction (cf. Birth 2006). An archaeological attribution of these objects exclusively to the initial moment of their creation would have been philosophically problematic, as it would have prioritised their genesis over and above their continuous existence and life, and their ability to enact multiple times simultaneously (cf. Olivier 1999). In going all the way, in exploring memory as the study of diverse conceptions of temporality in the past and in the present, archaeologists do not only enrich and develop a cross-disciplinary field of research, but they also reflect on their own notions of western archaeological chronometric time, and its often problematic effects, leaving open

the possibility of experimenting with alternative temporalities, beyond succession and linearity.

Turning to the valuable and important studies collected in this volume, one has to note for a start their sustained effort, reflected in the title of the volume, and no doubt consciously encouraged by the editors, to go beyond the emphasis on monumentality, which so much writing has been devoted to, and explore instead the workings of memory in *daily lives and routines*, making use of the full range of material objects, things and landscapes, including natural places and features, and rocks with distinctive sensorial properties (see especially García Sanjuán and Wheatley). Another important angle, especially explored in the chapters by Tsamis and Levy is the mnemonic role of human interaction with plants and animals, an area long dominated by mechanistic, neo-evolutionist discourses, formalist economics, and simplified definitions of subsistence. It is shown instead that hunting animals, cultivating plants, storing crops, preparing and consuming food, are embodied, sensuous practices that produce strong mnemonic effects, which are also synaesthetically combined with other sensory experiences, such as handling pots with distinctive visual and tactile effects. It is these *combined* bodily effects that we need to understand in exploring the work of memory.

Tsamis also opens up another neglected area in memory studies in archaeology, and that is the political economy of memory. The field of power dynamics in European prehistory has been almost abandoned to the neo-evolutionist discourses, and to mechanistic social typologies, as interpretative approaches turned their attention initially to symbolism, and more recently to landscape, ancestral and sacred geographies, and daily routines and experiences. Yet, memory is also a field of power, as other studies in this volume, such as the one by Lillios on the plaque-relics in Iberia so vividly demonstrate. How the past is re-enacted and materialised in the present will have important political consequences and power effects. The expenditure invested in highly emotive mnemonic rituals such as feasts, mortuary or not, and the associated symbolic capital accumulated through them, are further reminders of the political connotations of memory. But the field of memory cannot be easily reconciled with static notions of power dynamics, whereby elites wishing to impose their authority would simply host a huge feast or erect an impressive monument in order to memorialise and consolidate their hegemony. Counter-mnemonic strategies, such as the remodelling and the circulation, outside the mortuary arena, of the plaque-relics discussed by Lillios, juxtapose informality and subjectivity to the public and formalised mortuary deployment of the same objects. Furthermore, voluntary mnemonic strategies, public and private, formal and informal alike, are constantly under challenge by involuntary, unexpected anarchic recollections, the memories that may spring up unexpectedly, memories of a less than lavish feast, of bad wine, or of food poisoning, which would disrupt and threaten the established order.

It is often claimed that memory as a concept is too subjective, too vague and general to be of use, hence the calls to replace it with “tradition” or “influence” instead (*e.g.* Herzfeld 2004; Osborne 2003). I have shown above that one response to this criticism would be to demonstrate that remembering and forgetting are socially and inter-subjectively enacted, and that they need the concreteness and physicality of matter to come into effect, but also that they can constitute important ways of studying varied conceptions of temporality. Another response would be to shift away from memory as a generic and abstract concept and focus instead on the *work of memory*, the practices involved and the effort and the time expended in materially producing mnemonic effects (*cf.* also Hamilakis and Labanyi 2008b; Mills and Walker 2008). This is a challenge that almost all papers in this volume have

undertaken and have carried it through admirably. Take the question of hoarding for example, explored in various chapters but most notably in the one by Levy, to some extent by García Sanjuán and Wheatley, but also indirectly by Arnold, when she reminds us that the deliberate inhumation of the dead was not something natural nor something that was afforded to the majority of people, at least in central European Iron Age, but rather a conscious effort to preserve and memorialise. The deliberate deposition and concealment of things and bodies, phenomenon quite widespread in European prehistory and beyond, is a privileged ground for the archaeology of memory. It is a strategy that requires serious effort and time, as opposed to dispersal and abandonment, and one that is replete with meanings. In earlier interpretative attempts, some of these practices were described using the scheme of 'structured deposition', a term that may have inspired much thinking and research but one that cannot hide its structuralist and thus binary origins (ritual versus routine practices), and one that may have underestimated many other, equally meaningful depositions that may lack internal patterning (cf. Pollard 2008). In a recent paper (2008), I have discussed similar practices in Aegean prehistory with reference to eating and drinking, and have claimed that the material production of a *mnemonic record on the ground*, in this case in the shape of deliberately dug pits for the burying, hoarding, and concealment of the remnants of eating and drinking, is a key feature of many commensal events. They constitute the re-collection and the preservation of the fragments of communal, highly emotive events that brought a collectivity together. In other words, they materialised and objectified, or even memorialised that collectivity of people, after it had been dispersed. Some of these deposits, like the one at Late Bronze Age Nopigeia-Drapanias in West Crete, were revisited, and renewed with successive depositions of food remnants (Hamilakis and Harris in press; Harris and Hamilakis 2008). As several authors in this volume have demonstrated (Skeates, for example, in connection with body ornaments from Copper Age Italy, and Larsson with regard to Iron Age Scandinavia), repetition and citation of past events and interactions, whether it is rebuilding a house on the very same spot, or re-opening and reusing a ditch, are key features of mnemonic practices.

Several studies in the archaeology of memory note that along with remembering we need to explore forgetting. Yet, there is relatively little on the matter. While the need to remember is, in our own societies, something that is seen as self-evident, indeed essential, and very often politically important (as political authorities and regimes often actively encourage the forgetting of tragic moments or horrendous deeds), that there is at times an equally important, almost compelling need to forget, is something that we find more difficult to comprehend. A number of chapters in this volume engage directly or indirectly with the matter. Jones, for example, discussing the British Neolithic draws our attention to the performative and highly emotive acts of deliberate burning and of violence as practices with mnemonic effects but also as strategies that bring about closure. This paper evokes the discussion on 'killing' objects or buildings through deliberate destruction and deformation, a commonly encountered phenomenon in European prehistory. Skeates also talks of the 'sacrifice' of valued personal ornaments, as a way of reshaping memories or even forgetting persons as individuals. Lillios alludes to the same phenomenon when discussing the possibly intentional fragmentation of plaque-relics as a practice potentially signifying mourning, although in her case we are dealing more with modification and reworking than 'killing'. The most interesting ethnographic account on forgetting I have encountered, which has also inspired some of the studies in this volume (e.g. Skeates), is the one by Battaglia (1990) on Melanesian mortuary practices of dispersal and destruction of objects that, according to her, aim at bringing about forgetting. She claims that people recognise the

need to produce a positively valued negative space, to effect forgetting, not of the person as an individual but as a social actor. This forgetting, this created space, would then allow new remembering to be generated. I have found this interpretation compelling, and have attempted to reinterpret Aegean Bronze Age mortuary practices such as the disarticulation of skeletons, and accumulation of dead bodies into anonymous piles, or the 'killing' of swords deposited in burials, in the same light (Hamilakis 1998). Yet, we have to be careful not to see everywhere homological links between persons and objects, and not to assume automatically that absence and destruction will necessarily bring about closure and forgetting. In fact, the opposite may be true in some cases, as the work of Küchler on the Malanggan figurines (2002), as well as other anthropological and art historical studies contained in the volume by Forty and Küchler (2001) demonstrate: absence may be more effective than presence in evoking remembering, as discussed also by Levy. Conversely, monumentalisation and presence, as for example in war memorials, can be more about forgetting than remembering (the brutality and the horrors of a war, for example), or rather the imposition of a certain, authoritative and monolithic mnemonic image upon a diverse mnemonic landscape, another *mnemo-political* strategy.

To conclude, this rich and stimulating volume will undoubtedly inspire further studies on remembering and forgetting in European prehistory. It has addressed several of the gaps in the existing literature on the archaeology of memory by focusing on daily lives and routines, and on a wide range of mnemonic practices, by addressing forgetting as well as remembering, by exploring the political economy of memory, and by engaging with the work, the time and the effort devoted to the generation of remembering and forgetting. I have further suggested that we should pay more attention to the involuntary processes of remembering, and their ability to unsettle and thus subvert social order, and undermine organised and ordered mnemonic recollection. In order for the archaeology of memory to achieve its full potential, however, it should not see itself simply as yet another archaeological interpretative theme, but rather as an rare opportunity to rethink and reshape the archaeological as a whole: if we as archaeologists in late modernity re-collect fragments of the material past, as people have been doing since prehistory, then ours is a fundamentally mnemonic practice, in the same way as theirs is an archaeological one. In both cases, time and matter, sensorially experienced and activated, are the fundamental ingredients. Reflection on and engagement with memory thus can become a mirror through which we can re-examine the archaeologies we (and other people) practice and have practiced in the past, including our archaeological and more broadly social conceptions of time and temporality.

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